The Intersection of Race and Food in the Rust Belt:
How Food Justice Challenges the Urban Planning Paradigm

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ABSTRACT

While many voices in the various contemporary food movements recognize the unsustainable and unhealthy character of the modern corporate food system, there is little work, to date, that addresses the embedded structural and institutional injustices in the food system that reinforce already-existing racialized inequities. The intersection of food and race in the urban rust belt is marked by historical and institutionalized inequality, where geographies of race, poverty, and hunger – situated in a post-industrial context – are mediated by both capitalist restructuring and the inattention of urban planners. As a reaction to the economic downturn and spatial reconfiguring that coincided with industrial production, neoliberal restructuring in the postindustrial rust belt has focused particularly on attracting capital and fostering economic growth within cities. The neoliberal restructuring of capital in the rust belt has entailed a spatial reconstruction whereby neighborhoods and bodies are intentionally managed, producing a specific kind of city where poorer neighborhoods and populations are barred from public view. Through these processes, the public gaze is directed onto "entrepreneurialized" downtowns and historic districts representing the successes of neoliberal policies in attracting capital and investment (Brenner & Theodore 2002; Wilson 2007). Provisioning of food has been rendered more invisible in the urban context where planners tend to concentrate first and foremost on the physical and land use aspects of planning. Urban relations of power are reproduced by and help to produce urban social formations, emphasizing the fundamental importance of racialized and classed spaces and the role of both affluence and whiteness in shaping not only urban geographies, but decision-making processes surrounding hunger and food.

Among the many alternative food movements, a food justice approach centers its objectives on restructuring the production, distribution and consumption processes within the food system. Food justice organizing attempts to transform the food system by challenging the inequities and structural racisms reproduced through it. Food justice, like other alternative food practices, operates within – and must therefore contend with – a hegemonic neoliberal political and economic environment. Organizations are subject to the influences of market-based ideologies and the resulting promotion of individualism, self-sufficiency, and non-reliance on social services. This research explores how food justice organizing creates space for collaborate planning to reproduce resilience and solidarity within communities, rather than

perpetuate social and economic instability, food insecurity, and dependence on the charity sector or welfare services.

Focusing on the historical legacy of marginalization and neglect faced by urban Black communities, I explore how that marginalization is reflected in and magnified by a socially unjust and structurally racist food system. Examples of food justice activism show the possibility of shifts in the urban planning paradigm toward more intentional and collaborative food system planning processes. Throughout this thesis, I dissect the discourse and politics surrounding city planning and renewal within Syracuse and the rust belt more generally, considering to what extent normative planning processes perpetuate and exacerbate the racialized inequalities already present in the food system. I examine how the infiltration of neoliberal ideologies such as individualism, self-sufficiency, and market-based entrepreneurialism also influence the structures of and interactions between the multiple "alternative" food movements, and the tensions between official and alternative methods of food system organization.

Alternative methods of city planning have the potential to reimagine the rust belt, recreating cities in such a way that they do not look back to their industrial past or economic apex with the hopes of recreating it. Rather, by creating the space for inclusive planning processes, marginalized communities can have a voice and sway over the evolution of the food landscape in their neighborhoods, and are empowered to work toward a vision of food justice that conceptualizes food as a right, rather than a privilege.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Justine Fuller Lindemann spent most of her childhood in Syracuse, New York, after moving there from Boston at the age of five. After thirteen years in this Upstate New York town, she decided she did not want to stay there a day longer than necessary, and moved to Marseille in the south of France after graduating from high school. Justine spent almost a full year living and working in both southern France and northern Germany before returning to the U.S. to attend New York University in 2004. She completed a degree in French Culture and Civilization, with a concentration on French colonial studies, and also majored in Africana Studies and German Literature. During her junior year of college, she studied abroad in Dakar, Senegal, which led her to a job working on U.S.-Africa policy and post-conflict studies at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC. During the years she worked there, Justine had the opportunity to travel to several different regions within the Democratic Republic of the Congo, working on the Project on Leadership and Building State Capacity. Goma, in the Eastern Congo, is probably her favorite place on Earth. In 2011, she moved to Bamako, Mali, to explore her increasing interest in agricultural development, specifically working with smallholder farmers and urban producers. During her six-month contract, she worked for Winrock International's Farmer-to-Farmer and MAVEN programs, travelling across Mali on various technical assistance and capacity building projects, working mostly with farmer's cooperatives and urban farmers.

After eight years living in different cities and countries both in the United States and across the world, Justine finally returned to Upstate New York in late 2011 to pursue a degree in Development Sociology. While the weather in Ithaca might not rival Marseille, and the landscapes are not quite as breathtaking as in the DRC, Justine has decided that Upstate New York – both as home and as a field site – is nonetheless a great place to spend time.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to all acts of revolution and radicalism,
no matter how small, that unmask our privileges and oppressions in this world.

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I. Introduction

Food systems in the urban rust belt[1] are often overlooked on the political and economic agendas of municipal decision makers, while community organizations and activists tend to be excluded from official decision-making processes. Rendered invisible through a series of mechanisms which have effectively folded the food system into commercial and real estate development structures, there are few examples of collaborative and participatory food systems planning that take into consideration the inequitable trajectory of capitalist development. Furthermore, scholarship on histories of deindustrialization and the postindustrial city have not given due attention to how the political and economic processes in the rust belt affect the production, distribution and consumption of food. While there is scholarship on how the decline of industry has influenced the racial and ethnic dynamics of urban areas (Dauria 1994; Wilson 2007; Bonacich 1976; DeRuiter-Williams 2007; Wacquant 1992, 1994, 1996, 1997, 2004, 2007), there is inadequate academic work addressing the racial inequity and spatial underprivilege of food system development in the postindustrial context of revitalization projects. Additionally, and essential to understanding urbanism in the rustbelt, there is a need for scholarly work to explore how urban food systems and food system planning – and especially the absence thereof – contributes to more deeply embedded poverty within communities of color. DeRuiter-Williams (2007: 30) states, "Nearly every social issue in modern American society is the result of some blend of racism and classism that promises one group will always surpass another in terms of economic success, political power, and equality". Food system inequality and the injustices inherent to the modern urban food system can be understood broadly as "social issues", but must not remain masked as "urban social problems" and thus folded into or subsumed under more conventionally designated urban problems of unemployment, housing, transportation, and education (Heynen 2006: 131; Pothukuchi & Kaufmann 2000). Planners, government officials, and activists alike need to recognize food system inequities as the result of a series of deeply embedded racialized inequalities born out of urban histories and geographies, and exacerbated by

[1] I use the term rust belt to indicate a series of cities in the region surrounding the Great Lakes that relied heavily on manufacturing industries for economic growth. While there is no precise geographical delineation to determine cities that are or are not included, following Crandall (1993), Alder and colleagues (2013), and Warf (1994), I use this term to refer to cities in both the Northeastern and the northern central rust belt, including but not limited to cities in Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Vermont, and Wisconsin.

political interventions designed to 'develop' and 'discipline' the postindustrial city. While similar processes of racialized discrimination and uneven urban development have shaped employment and housing patterns, the latter have been rendered increasingly visible through both state action and myriad community organizations and activists, thus building both a discursive and structural framework for addressing these urban inequities. Recognition of the historical and geographical context is not a direct solution, but creates a platform from which to find solutions and work toward equitable urbanization. Inequalities in the urban food system and in food system planning or transformation must also be directly addressed as such. This historical-geographical approach leads to an understanding of how current neoliberal governance structures and persistent racial segregation work against food system transformations supported by the most marginalized and impoverished communities of color.

Central to the historical geographical context of urban food systems are three interwoven and overlapping spheres – race, culture, and economy – that can be analyzed "as they condition (urban) life and are lived through" (Wilson 2007: 12). The dialectic of these three spheres reproduces relations of power through urbanization processes and helps to produce urban social forms, emphasizing the fundamental importance of racialized space and the role of whiteness and privilege in shaping not only urban geographies, but also decision-making processes surrounding hunger and food. Ducre defines the process through which racialized space is created as "the interplay of space, social relations, and power" (2012: 24). She highlights, as Wilson does, the importance of "containment and social control" (2012: 24) or the "management of Black bodies" (Wilson 2007: 26) in the establishment of spaces where the mobility of people of color is managed and/or constrained, and where neighborhoods or districts where people of color live are – or have been – historically designated. The spheres of race, culture, and economy (Wilson 2007), and how they interact on a spatial terrain of social relations and power, highlight the importance of understanding racialized space in all aspects of life as it affects and is affected not only by people of color, but by white people and white spaces as well. Through processes of racialization – both intentional and tacitly performed – communities of color and poor neighborhoods have been relegated as spatially inferior. Racialized spaces, containing the undesirable urban poor and people of color, are at once invisible to the outside gaze, and hypervisible through the stigma and stereotypes associated with them (Ducre 2012). Although neither Ducre (2012) nor Wilson (2007) enter explicitly into a discussion of food

or hunger, both food and hunger are deeply mapped across racialized space, especially within urban areas.

My conceptual use of "racialized space" and "racializing processes", following Ducre and others, (Alkon & Norgaard 2009; Heynen 2009; Lipsitz 1995; Slocum 2005; Whitehead 2000) presents racialization processes as affecting Black and brown bodies, creating spaces in and through which these bodies exist and move. However, this is not without the understanding that all spaces are, in fact, racialized, and that "'whiteness' is also about race" (Schein 2006: 4). Whiteness is not immune to racializing processes, and is indeed a contested concept that has shifted and evolved over time to include or exclude various groups of people. By naming both whiteness and racializing processes affecting Black and brown bodies, I do not intend to reify a binary or dichotomy between groups, where differences are nuanced, subtle, and at times not racial at all in nature. I do, however, attempt to highlight how the social construction of racial difference focuses mostly on Black and brown bodies, and how marginalization of groups based on these indicators has contributed to discourses around food, eating, and hunger that are extremely racialized. In addition to white-dominated power structures within industrial corporate food companies, many alternative food networks are organized within predominantly white communities and around white leadership configurations. Access to and participation in decisions around food systems and planning has historically been a privilege of a mostly white and wealthy stratum of the population, rather than being part of a larger participatory and democratic process. Thus, they tend to respond to the interests of a generally white and wealthy contingent of the population (Guthman 2008a; Pulido 2000; Slocum 2006, 2007, 2010). Similarly to the bourgeois ideology in Marxist theory, whiteness – and white narratives surrounding food – has become the "unmarked" category, normalized as an ethic claiming universality. Narratives around food that come from predominantly white food cultures render invisible, harmful, or culturally backwards the particularities of various racial and ethnic groups. There are, in many cases, tacit class- and race-based assumptions held by leadership structures about the ability or willingness – but also the necessity – of marginalized and minoritized groups to shift from existing unsustainable and perhaps unhealthy food practices to new food objectives (Bedore 2010: 56). The latter usually includes some combination of local, organic, or plant-based food that adheres to just production and distribution ideals.

The practices I have just outlined, which make up a significant portion of the Alternative Food Movement, also represent an attempt to reembed food markets and exchange into social relations between consumers and the farmers that produce food (Hinrichs 2000; Raynolds 2000; Winter 2003). The relationships that are built and fostered through direct agricultural market practices (Hinrichs 2000) such as farmer's markets, Community Supported Agriculture (CSA), farm share programs, and farm to institution programs, do indeed create proximity between consumer and producer, developing relations of trust and contesting the disembeddedness of the dominant global corporate food regime (McMichael 2005). Alternative food practices can also work to break down the consumer-producer dichotomy through community gardening and urban farming, as well as CSAs where participants are invited (or required) to work on the farm in some capacity (Veen et al. 2012). Among these alternative practices are attempts to include a lower-income and geographically marginalized constituency amongst those who participate. Some farmers offer a sliding scale price option for CSAs or farmer's market produce, or connect with organizations that create price brackets for consumers based on their ability to pay. In this case, wealthier consumers' participation or successful grant applications effectively subsidize the participation of lower income consumers. Inclusivity, in this sense, comes from a partial reembedding of markets in social relations, however this "softened form of exchange" (Hinrichs 2000), of spatial proximity and an apparent shift in social relations does not, in fact, "soften" the necessity of profit-making or the importance of price structure for low-income consumers or small scale farmers. Indeed, the "balance of power and privilege ultimately rests with well-to-do consumers" (Hinrichs 2000: 301).

The postindustrial city is a useful backdrop from which to understand the dominant power structure in food practices – both alternative and more conventional – as well as to understand how racializing processes within urban space have managed and disciplined Black bodies through a series of political, economic, and social interventions (Wilson 2007). The spatial character of urban post-industrial space as well as the political and economic management and disciplining of Black bodies can be seen in racialized geographies of food, hunger, and access in cities. Simultaneously, the cultural and economic ideologies that have undergirded processes of urban development and revitalization in the postindustrial era find their counterpart in food provisioning services and alternative food practices. Racialized food access and

food inequity more generally is a useful starting point for extending the discussion to unequal power structures and the ways that hegemonic space is created and maintained within the city environment.

Understanding the urban environment as a series of politically and economically mediated processes, rather than as a fixed or concrete form, underscores how continuous change within cities precipitates power structures, geographies of inequality, and a food system built to serve a disproportionately wealthy and white subset of the population. The processes that create and recreate inequalities in cities over space and time are the result of protracted political and economic endeavors to accumulate and concentrate capital within and through the built environment and in the face of human obstacles. Urban space is not static, but undergoes continual processes of urbanization – a continual 'becoming' of the city; thus none of these resulting structures should be viewed as crystallized or immovable, rather as moments of structural constancy or perseverance resulting from the flux and fluidity of spatial processes and relations. Saldanha (2006), in a discussion of race and whiteness, argues for a conception of spatial processes that is viscous, characterized by "surface tension and resistance to perturbation". Indeed, alternative spaces of resistance and contestation have not yet unsettled food system inequities in a meaningful way. Persistent spatial and geographical racial segregation within the postindustrial city, the existence of food deserts or food apartheid[2] along racial lines, an increasing need for private-sector emergency food provisioning services and increased demand for alternatives that address social injustice all point to this "surface tension and resistance to perturbation". Racialized hunger in cities is rooted in more systemic discrimination than can be addressed by emergency food provisioning services, while the social injustices reproduced through the corporate food system are not consistently addressed through alternative food practices.

Academic and political attention to the urban food system and the perceived "food crisis" largely focuses on food security, which neglects a justice framework and the contextualization of institutionalized racisms and geographies of inequality that have contributed to inequities in the modern food system (World Economic Forum 2010; Holt-Giménez 2011; Lawrence 2007; Alkon & Norgaard 2009; Pothukuchi &

[2] Hank Herrera, an activist based in Oakland, California, refuses to use the term 'food desert', explaining, "Some of us don't use the term 'food desert' because a desert…is a natural phenomenon. Lack of access to fresh, healthy food is not natural. It is not accidental" (quoted in Cook 2009).

Kaufman 2000; Guthman 2008a). Many iterations of the "alternative food movement" focus largely on global environmental impact, encouraging some version of a vegetarian or vegan, organic, local, grass-fed, or back-yard-grown diet (Pollan 2006, 2008; Bittman 2008; Kingsolver 2008; Nestle 2007). By placing the responsibility for food choices on the individual, considerations about institutional or structural barriers to access are ignored or rendered less irrelevant, as are cultural questions about what constitutes "good food". Michael Pollan (2006: 149), in a book that attempts to outline for readers what they should and should not be eating, advises readers to avoid "anything your grandmother wouldn't recognize as food". He suggests that "your grandmother could tell you (how) bread is traditionally made using a remarkably small number of familiar ingredients" (2006: 151), but does not acknowledge exactly *whose* grandmother he is speaking of, or consider the various eating traditions that do not include bread or the constitutive "familiar" ingredients. The assumption undergirding this eating guideline is that every grandmother looks (and eats) alike, and presumably like his did; similar assumptions within alternative food movements and amongst food professionals more generally (nutritionists, policymakers, dieticians, physicians, etc.) necessitate a critical look at the ways in which whiteness is present in the food system and in the alternative food movement. Assumptions about what constitutes good food, and who can best prescribe what and how (all) people should be eating have permeated the messages and mission of the mainstream food media and alternative food networks alike.

Another critique of placing full responsibility on individuals for their food choices is articulated by Julie Guthman (2011), who contests what she terms "problem closure" in the framing of discussions about the modern food system (2011: 16). According to this theory, "problem closure occurs when a specific definition of a problem is used to frame subsequent study of the problem's causes and consequences and thus precludes alternative conceptualizations of the problem" (Guthman 2011: 15). For example, when "food problems" are framed by the city or state as a lack of food security or food scarcity, it is much more difficult to conceptualize a solution that doesn't include food provisioning services such as soup kitchens and food pantries. If individual food and diet choices are seen as responsible for obesity and other health issues such as respiratory problems or heart disease, the solution looks to behavioral and lifestyle changes – eating more fruits and vegetables or exercising more frequently – thereby sidelining consideration of

environmental, spatial, or institutional barriers to good health and placing full responsibility on the individual.

While food security and individual choice or responsibility are important constitutive parts of what comprises a just food system, factors such as community agency and the responsibility of municipalities to collaborate with and respond to the needs and desires of the more vulnerable city inhabitants are essential to the construction of a more just food system. Although I will not do so on a larger scale in this thesis, it is also important to be able to conceptualize and frame food problems in a multi-scalar fashion, such that the individual and community are taken into consideration as related to and constitutive of larger city-wide, national, and even global patterns in food production, distribution, and consumption. Without considering the historical and geographical context of the postindustrial city and how national and global processes of deindustrialization and economic regulation have impacted people of color and poor residents in general, policies and action regarding the urban food system changes will continue to reiterate current injustices and marginalize an already minoritized population.

Structural and institutional racism have been acknowledged in scholarship on housing and residential segregation (Massey and Denton 1993) and on health disparities between Black and white communities (Keppel 2007); however, as with studies on environmental racism (Pulido 2000), studies of food and food insecurity are largely detached from discussions of urban poverty and race, and the historical geographic relevance of deindustrialization processes and neoliberal restructuring. There is an emerging scholarship that recognizes the intersection of food and race in cities (Alkon & Agyemon 2011; Slocum 2006; Guthman 2008a) as well as research that draws connections between neoliberalization and the food system (Guthman 2008b; Allen & Guthman 2006; Alkon & Mares 2011; Pudup 2008). Similarly to racialized residential segregation, racism within the food system is the result of a diversity of racisms (Pulido 2000: 534), and recognizing these forms of institutional and structural racisms means doing away with the conception that racism is present only as it occurs in an intentional act committed by one group against another. The uneven development of city neighborhoods and the racism that persists within the food system are not the result of individual incidences of racism, but evidence of the dialectical nature of racism on different scales – individual, institutional, economic and structural – to determine and be

determined by historically embedded racisms that are continually produced and reproduced. Natashia Bowens, founder of "The Color of Food", argues that in order to break down the racist ideologies that undergird the modern food system, we have to look back to the inception of that food system and understand the racism historically embedded within the very structures of the food system. Evoking the inception of the modern food system means acknowledging the structural dislocation of thousands of Black farmers off of their land in the southern United States. While white farmers and smallholders were also negatively affected by the increased industrialization of the food system, their economic difficulties were not undergirded by an ideological and structural racism that precipitated the massive movement of people off their land and into cities. Bowens states, "…really the first step is [sic] acknowledging, and starting to talk about, and starting to raise awareness about what exactly racism in the food system means" (WhyHunger.org 2012). This reinforces the need to not only dismantle the current racist structures and institutions that reify contemporary food relations, but to understand the specific histories of how they evolved over space and time.

A justice framework centers its objectives on restructuring the production, distribution, and consumption processes within the food system. Food justice organizing attempts to transform rather than reform the food system, by challenging the inequities and structural racisms reproduced through it. While I do not intend to present food justice activism as a panacea to inequalities in the food system, it provides the opportunity for a paradigm shift in urban food system planning, and works as an entry point for discussions around power, identity, democracy, and social justice. Food justice is particularly salient in the urban United States as it relates to broader issues of food security, race, class, and institutional inequalities, partly because of the inextricable linkages between questions of food and hunger and the histories of place. By this, I mean that the particularities of place – the processes that work to form history, economy, politics, growth, decline, and etc. – are all implicated in the formation and evolution of structures and institutions; the food system is no exception. Cities have unique histories that are particular to a specific place while they simultaneously relate to the universal. The inception and growth of cities is tied up in evolution and transformation of the agricultural and peasant systems in the United States, Europe, and in countries across the world (see Marx 1992 [1867]), and in order to have a broader understanding of racialized inequalities in the food system and the reproduction of whiteness within the

food system, it is necessary to have an understanding of food in urban areas. The urban food system, while a process in and of itself, is a result of many political, economic and geographic processes that often did not consider how food was implicated, and yet have had great influence in shaping the relations of circulation, commercialization, and consumption of food. The food system is both an essential result of and mediator of the socio-ecological metabolisms and relations in urban areas.

The food system, as a part of the built environment and social relations within the urban United States, is both less visible than other urban systems such as transportation or housing, and folded into other aspects of planning such as commercial development. Partly because of the ways that food production and agricultural activity have, with little exception, been imagined as particular to rural areas and thus rendered invisible in the urban context, few established mechanisms within city governments exist to combat the inequalities that lead to such a race- and class-based divide in both the geography of food retail outlets and the power structures that make food system related decisions. According to Pothukuchi and Kaufman (1999) there are several reasons why urban food system planning has, at best, been piecemeal and disorganized, and, at worst, not happened at all. Firstly, consistent availability of food in urban areas is generally taken for granted as most middle and upper-class people within cities do not experience major problems concerning access to food, and in fact, have easy access to grocery stores, food retail markets, and possibly even farmer's markets or urban farm markets. While food availability, affordability, and access is not seen as problematic for the wealthy (and largely white) contingent of cities, even in low-income neighborhoods and so-called "food deserts", food is often available in some form. Although food availability in low-income areas is dominated by processed industrial food, lower quality produce, and is more expensive than food in higher income areas (Lane et al. 2008; Chung & Myers 1999; Treuhaft & Karpyn 2010), there are calories available for consumption. The second reason is related to the history of technology and transportation in the United States. The mechanization of farming and the advent of food processing, together with the technologies necessary for food to travel long distances in refrigerated trucks have revolutionized the way that food is produced and distributed, as well as enabling it to be shipped for incredibly long distances while remaining at least somewhat fresh. Historical decreases in the number of farms through processes of farmland consolidation, as well as the distancing of farms from cities due to urban and suburban sprawl have been countered by these increases

in agricultural productivity through mechanization and technological improvements (Dimitri et al. 2005); there has generally always been food on the shelves at grocery stores, regardless of how far that food had to travel to get there. Third, food has not historically been understood to be an "urban issue" in the same way as housing, transportation, or crime. This is part of an imagined dichotomy between urban and rural geographies, as if they do not exist side by side with nebulous and undefined boundaries. Cities have been imagined as a source of industrial, technological, and financial production, while rural areas are depicted as agricultural in nature, responsible for the provisioning of food and resources to urban areas. Lastly, and similar in nature to the preceding reason, policies targeting urban and rural areas tend to remove food and the organization of food systems from the urban agenda, by creating specifically rural policies to regulate food and agriculture. This is also embedded in the assumption that rural areas will provide for the needs of industrial and productive cities. Both in labor and in food, cities have historically existed because of surplus agricultural production in rural areas, relying tacitly on the assumption that cities represent a space of privilege that can rely on the less developed and more impoverished rural "other" to provide food products. The interrelated processes of agricultural mechanization and urban industrialization both contributed to the loss of and consolidation of farmland, and especially to patterns of demographic shift toward an urbanization of the north and a racialized depeasantization of the south.

The planning paradigm within rustbelt cities has largely ignored the possibility that urban discourses might embrace a more hybridized version of the normative "urbanism" consisting of an exclusively built environment, and begin to include agriculture production and intentional food policies and relationships into the urban imaginary. Neoliberalization has shifted the paradigm of government funded public services and social support systems, and while a complete reversal of neoliberal political and social ideologies is unlikely, there is great potential for social organizing to both address the needs of low-income urban communities of color and to reproduce strength and resilience in communities that have been historically disempowered (Heynen 2009). In cities such as Detroit and Chicago, and rust belt cities in New York such as Buffalo and Syracuse that have experienced extreme segregation, severe economic downturn, or both, the invisibility of food provisioning is being challenged by community responses and activism that contest a capitalist food system built to generate capital accumulation and flow rather than to serve people. Collaborative food planning structures such as food policy councils that directly implicate

both governmental structures and community organizations challenge assumptions about urban reliance on rural areas, and simultaneously introduce an element of intentionality to food systems planning (Pothukuchi & Kaufman 1999; Wekerle 2004; Dunlea et al. 2005). City economies and demographics have shifted drastically over the past several decades, and the resulting changes in how cities are and are not provisioned challenges traditional theories about urban-rural relations, and pushes us to think differently about how cities might meet their needs through more socially just, sustainable, and democratic processes.

Urban hunger results from simultaneous contributing processes: the physical, biochemical processes that are the result of under- or malnutrition, and the social relations and power structures that regulate consumption of food through social, political and economic processes (Heynen 2006). Tying these processes together demonstrates how hunger in cities – both socially and naturally mediated – requires policy oriented and yet community-based intervention that addresses the dialectic of need and desire in working toward a planning paradigm focused on food production and provisioning specifically for a lower-income and minoritized urban constituency. From a biophysical standpoint, without food, a person cannot live. However, the need for food is embedded within power relations and contestation over identity. The social relations surrounding food not only affect and transform urban space, but also affect people physically and bodily. Lefebvre suggests that a "human being's many needs and desires have their foundation in biological life, in instincts; subsequently social life transforms them, giving the biological content a new form. On the one hand needs are satisfied by society; on the other, as history unfolds, society modifies them both in form and content" (1991: 162-163). It is through this "tension between *consumption based on physiological requirements* and *consumption based on cultural conditions*"… "between *necessity for food* and *desire for particular foods*" (Heynen 2006: 130, emphasis in original) that an understanding of the relations surrounding food and hunger can be built, as well as how they are distinguished from other urban social and political problems.

This research, based in my own experiences as a Syracusan and my growing involvement with the Syracuse food movement, will examine questions of food and food justice in a postindustrial Central New York within the context of neoliberal restructuring of capital. My framework will involve examining the

assumptions, outcomes, and shortcomings of urban planning, how inner city folk are developing alternative urban plans to address food availability, access, affordability, and adequacy, and how the neoliberal political environment influences these efforts. In other words, my examination of the conditions contributing to an unjust and highly racialized food system will consider the mutual relations between official and alternative urban planning, and what kinds of food provisioning outcomes result from this interaction in terms of improving access to underserved minorities. This approach includes evaluating the work of food justice advocacy and community organizations as offering an alternative framework for food provisioning to the neoliberal policy structure, and the tension inherent to both the former and latter's attempts at reform.

While the combination of factors I will be considering in this study have had particular implications in Syracuse, NY, elements of the particular are important in understanding the more universal character of urban food systems not only in the rust belt, but in urban areas everywhere that have experienced expansion and contraction of industry, commerce, investment, or other forms of capital flow. Cities in the rust belt have experienced a permanent shift in character, and instead of attracting people and resources into the city, have been consistently losing these resources to the suburbs and the urban periphery. Postindustrial urban food systems have evolved simultaneously with the demographics of the city, and without intentional intervention, are not built to provide equitably to lower income minority communities. The historical-geographic processes that have shaped the development of a highly racialized food system in Syracuse, New York, both reflect and are reflected in urban geographies universally where race and food meet each other in highly uneven and unjust ways.

II: Histories and Geographies of Urban (Re)Structuring in Syracuse

Historical development of industry in the rustbelt was and remains an economically motivated and uneven process, coinciding with massive changes in agricultural production and a large-scale movement of bodies across space. A broad overview of industrial production as well as population response to changes in industry in Syracuse sets the historical stage of the movement of people in and out of the city, reflecting similar patterns in rustbelt cities across New York and through the Midwest. In 1950, the population of Syracuse peaked at just over 220,000 inhabitants (Gibson 1998). By 2010, the city had experienced a loss of almost 34 percent of the mid-century population (Hevesi 2004). Syracuse was not alone in the New York State rust belt in experiencing this kind of economic and demographic decline. Buffalo, NY lost approximately 50 percent of its population in the same general time frame, and Rochester, NY saw its population decline by about 34 percent (Hevesi 2004).

In addition to people and capital investment, industry and commerce had retreated from the inner city in the post-War era, shifting to geographic locations with more attractive tax policies or historically less stringent labor organizing policies such as the Midwest and the Southern United States, where a history of "right to work" policies have had the effect of disciplining labor union organizing. This is especially noteworthy in the Northeast, where labor unions have had considerable power over wage rates and labor organizing (Crandall 2003; Bonacich 1976). While these qualities have, at times, been attractive for incoming industries looking for a history of positive labor relations, in periods of wage repression and disciplining of the labor force, many industrial capitalists have sought out locations where labor unions do not have an historical stronghold. Thus, the demographic shift of wealthier city-dwellers from downtown urban neighborhoods to more suburban locations was combined with a shift in the geography of employment away from cities in the Northeast. Syracuse is no exception to this pattern of industrial and demographic shifts. In 1905, the city ranked number 23 in the nation for the number of manufacturing industries, and by 1939, there were 275 different products manufactured in the area (The Post Standard 1910; Syracuse Journal 1939). The decline in industry in Syracuse began in the postwar period and has continued until the present day. The decline in population described above, together with the slight growth of the population in the surrounding county during that time

period, indicates a trend of simultaneous expansion of the suburbs and shrinkage of the inner city (Meenar et al. 2012). Indeed, in a series of economic studies on the relative prosperity of post-industrial cities in New York State, the Brookings Institute has determined that suburban areas have grown, both demographically and economically, while cities continue to suffer. Combined with census tract data on the wealth and race of city district inhabitants versus those who have moved to or settled in suburban districts, the history of population loss makes visible a stark socio-economic and racial divide between most areas of downtown Syracuse and the surrounding suburbs (Bloch et al. 2013; Community Geography 2013). Postindustrial cities in New York have shown to be among the least resilient, economically and demographically, of postindustrial cities nationwide (Crandall 2003). This begins to explain the motivation or impetus behind local government initiatives to finance a series of renewal and redevelopment programs to attract capital investment and population growth into the city of Syracuse and in other cities in the rust belt. While talk of urban renewal has been a part of discourse in Syracuse and other (post)industrial cities since the early 1940s (Ducre 2012), the most recent wave of renewal consists of very specific kinds of neoliberal capitalist restructuring (Wilson 2007; Street 2007). These projects of revitalization and redevelopment have continuously been focused on economic growth in specific wealthy neighborhoods while ignoring the urban poor or, as David Wilson contends, ensuring the survival and crystallization of the black ghetto as "warehousing zones for 'contaminants' of local property values" (2007: ix). The story of decline and renewal in the rust belt has been the dominant one in the post-War era, and certainly over the last three decades of neoliberal restructuring. However, this must be contextualized by the population growth that helped to bring these cities to their demographic and productive height.

Situating industrial decline: History of population change and ghetto formation in the rustbelt

During the period of industrial expansion from the late nineteenth century through the first half of the twentieth century, there was a sustained and massive influx of wage laborers into industrializing cities, mostly in the Northeast and Midwest, populating the industrial and manufacturing working class in these rust belt cities. As with urbanizing processes of the European Industrial Revolution in the 1800s, agrarian reform and the enclosure of land (Marx 1992 [1867]) in the post-bellum and reformation-era

United States pushed millions of peasants, farmers, and pastoralists into cities to join the waged labor force, (Wilson 1978). The mechanization of agriculture, together with the emancipation of slaves in the South, created both push and pull factors for this Great Black Migration. By 1950, 65 percent of the black population in the south had moved to the north and east of the United States (Forman 1971, quoted in Wilson 2007: 19). The mass influx of (mostly Black) bodies fueled industrial production in northern cities and increased profit margins for industrial capitalists. The quality of life for the waged working class did not increase at a rate commensurate to the expansion of industry. Black workers in particular experienced increased race-based discrimination, which relegated them to lower paying jobs and led to marginalization from labor union organizations (Wilson 1978; Baron 1971). Partly as a result of this systematized racism, the normalized experience of urban Black laborers was one of concentrated poverty in inferior housing establishments, and little or no access to the same services as the wealthier contingents of the population (Massey & Fischer 2000).

The simultaneous histories of urban industrial development and shifts towards mechanized agricultural production help to illustrate how the pull factors from industrializing cities became so unavoidable for southern tenant farmers or sharecroppers. Both the increase of agricultural mechanization and economic factors related to the Great Depression meant a widespread loss of farming land owned or worked by former slaves and their ancestors (Harrison 2012). As a combined result of economic depression and racist federal policies, Black farmers, laborers and other small businesses were hit particularly hard over the course of the Great Depression (Baron 1971; Smith 2008; PBS Homecoming). During the Great Depression, federal programs such as the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) designed to provide relief to farmers and landholders were structured in such a way that Black farmers rarely received assistance, were allotted significantly less than white farmers when they did receive assistance, and were generally the first landowners or business owners to be foreclosed upon (Smith 2008: 29). Between 1930 and 1940 for example, a quarter of Black tobacco industry workers in North Carolina were displaced from the industry (Smith 2008: 38). The AAA, developed for mostly white large southern landholders, was not accessible to smaller sharecroppers or tenant farmers, and Black farmers did not receive aide from FERA nearly as often as white farmers did. In 1934, out of 84 applications

submitted by Black farmers, none was accepted; 24 applications were approved that year for white farmers, who only submitted a total of 49 requests for relief (PBS Homecoming).

This history illustrate the structural factors that pushed poor Black laborers out of agricultural work and into urban industrial laboring jobs, and the dramatic effect it had on both urban-rural relationships and the geopolitical configuration of industrializing cities. Agricultural mechanization meant both a surplus of available labor and a drastic increase in production, both of which helped to sustain and provide for urban industrial and demographic expansion. In effect, the industrial city depended on rural areas to provide both waged labor and food, and these emerging patterns of food production, distribution, and consumption were predicated on the removal of Blacks from southern agricultural land.

Together with the histories of change in agricultural production and racist land practices, the unique mapping of industry, commerce and real estate, health, education, and transportation infrastructures that constitute the physical framework of urban space has produced and continually reproduces privileged and underserved geographic areas within cities. Upon arriving in urban areas, poor Blacks were left few options other than to live in concentrated racialized neighborhoods built as an adjunct to the growing industry (Wilson 1978; DeRuiter-Williams 2007). Despite the fact that incoming Black labor was necessary to the functioning and growth of industry, in the context of strong biological and social racism of post-emancipation and failed Reconstruction projects, Black migrants into Northern cities were sequestered into racial enclaves in close proximity to the industries where they worked as laborers. Segregated housing developments were a combination of urban policy and a strong and negative white reaction to the influx of Black Americans into cities (Hirsch 1998; Wacquant 1994); biological and social rationalizations of slavery had evolved into a more modern and labor-oriented racism, helping to rationalize and normalize urban residential segregation.

The migration and sequestration of Black bodies in the early decades of the twentieth century catalyzed the initial formation of the Black ghetto in the Northeast and the Midwest. Wacquant (1994:

236) describes the ghetto not as a topographic entity or an “agglomeration of poor families and individuals” but rather as an institutional form that

> "may be ideal-typically characterized as a bounded, racially and/or culturally uniform sociospatial formation based on the forcible relegation of a negatively typed population to a reserved territory in which this population develops a set of specific institutions that operate both as a functional substitute for, and as a protective buffer from, the dominant institutions of the encompassing society.”

This working definition of the ghetto as a "sociospatial formation" allows it to be understood as one of many urbanizing processes that are continually shifting and evolving, but that is also affected by the ‘stickiness’ or ‘viscosity’ evoked by Saldanha. Ethnic spatial isolation has not been exclusive to Black populations. Similar processes of ghettoization, of "ethnoracial closure and control" have affected various other ethnic groups and communities such as Polish, Irish, Italian, German, and Jewish immigrants as they came to the United States (Wacquant 1994: 236); however, subsequent processes of integration and assimilation into a more heterogeneous understanding of ‘whiteness’ and participation in an inclusive urban society has been consistently exclusionary of Black populations (Lipsitz 1995), showing how the 'ethnic neighborhoods' of former immigrants represented a transitional space for acculturation and assimilation, rather than a ghettoized or racialized space of seclusion and marginalization (Wacquant 1994; Massey and Denton 1993). Not characterized by the residential confinement of Black urban ghettos, transitional spaces of European ethnic neighborhoods allowed immigrants to integrate into white neighborhoods as shifting understandings and definitions of whiteness provided space for these formerly othered populations. The segregation and isolation of Black people as a group has been a persistent and protracted feature of industrial and postindustrial cities, and Black urban inhabitants experience segregation to an extent that other ethnic or racial groups have not (Massey & Fischer 2000; Wacquant 1994). According to Massey and Denton (1993), Black Americans have experienced spatial segregation on all five measured metrics – isolation, concentration, unevenness, clustering, and centralization. A more comprehensive understanding of segregation explains more then just unevenness in patterns of Black, minority, and white settlement, but also addresses the intentional geographical and spatial location of Black neighborhoods, helping to

more fully explain how and to what extent Blacks have been removed from "full participation in urban society" (Massey & Denton 1993: 74).

This early stage of ghetto formation in industrializing cities was characterized by neighborhoods designed explicitly for the urban poor, which became a repository for the majority of poor Black migrants into northern American cities. Over the ensuing decades, as former European immigrants were assimilated into white culture and predominantly white neighborhoods, many poor urban Blacks remained in evolving and deepening ghetto formations with little social mobility and increasingly isolated from access to services. Ghettoized spaces soon became an enduring part of the urban residential fabric for a significant number of urban Black workers (Wacquant 1994, 2011; Wilson 2007). Additionally, through processes of industrialization and urban growth, the cost of living in the city was often beyond the financial means of laborers, whose wages did not adequately provide for housing, food, transportation, and equal and full participation in urban life. City governments were less concerned with providing the infrastructural elements necessary for a higher quality of life such as transportation networks, schools, health and other social services; rather, infrastructural development was built to feed a growing industry. Despite the overaccumulation and surpluses of capital resulting from intensive industrial production (McClintock 2008), investment in fixed capital was designed to grow the industries, not the surrounding communities and neighborhoods and the development and construction of housing and services required to support the influx of wage laborers migrating into cities was secondary (Baron 1971; DeRuiter-Williams 2007). In many cases, poor (mostly Black) communities were displaced in favor of the construction of industry, as happened in Syracuse in 1935 with the demolition of the Washington-Water Strip in the predominantly Black 9th Ward (Ducre 2012).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Black population of Syracuse was relatively small – about 1000 people, who were mostly the ancestors of freed slaves or those who had come through Syracuse on the Underground Railroad (Ducre 2012; Stamps & Stamps 2008). Syracuse's Black population increased by over 200 percent between 1940 and 1960 (Ducre 2012: 29), with most Black migrants settling either in the 9th Ward or the 15th Ward in downtown Syracuse. These neighborhoods

were home to most of the public housing in Syracuse, and the majority of the people of color. By the 1950s, the 15th Ward housed 90 percent of the Black population of the city (Ducre 2012: 39); the majority of Jewish and white people had left the area for other neighborhoods or for the urban periphery. Government subsidized public housing establishments, once diverse and ethnically varied places, had become almost exclusively Black. The 15th Ward housed close to 4,000 people during this time period (see The 15th Ward Project; Kirst 2013; Our Stories 2013; Williams 1993). Black urbanites in the Syracuse and other rustbelt cities were a source of consistent cheap labor for industrialists looking to increase profit margins (Wilson 2007: 19), and were especially appealing as laborers because they were historically not associated with or allowed to join labor unions (Wilson 1978)[3]. Black and white workers were consistently segregated in the workforce between higher and lower paying jobs, which compounded the power of residential segregation to sequester Black workers and their families into the urban Black ghetto and into more intense poverty.

Urban Renewal: A Deepening of Ghetto Formation

Over the course of at the majority of the twentieth century, the creation and maintenance of racialized spaces and the establishment of social, political, and economic barriers for people of color has drastically limited Black communities from fully accessing the benefits of urban society (Massey & Denton 1993; Wilson 2007; Zenk 2005; Cable & Mix 2003). Segregation of Black communities extended beyond a purely physical conceptualization of racialized spaces to include inequalities in employment, education, health and other social services, as well as participation in political processes, which resulted in some cases in a near complete isolation and an intense concentration of poverty that other ethnic groups generally have not experienced (Massey & Fischer 2000).

[3] Labor union policies began to change in the period after the Great Depression with the admittance of Blacks into certain unions; but what didn't change was the practice of allocating the least attractive and worst paying jobs to Black waged laborers, contributing to a differential in average earnings between Black and white workers (Baron 1971). Although Black and white workers performing the same job tasks were generally paid the same amount, there were several barriers to Black advancement in the workforce. Higher paying managerial jobs were not generally available to Blacks, who hit a "glass ceiling" much quicker than their white counterparts (Baron 1971).

During the interwar period and into the late 1960s, the structural and institutional marginalization of the Black ghetto from the rest of the city was both violently enforced and exacerbated by federal housing initiatives, as well as economic policies, including those for redevelopment and urban renewal. These policies were essential to shifting geographies of industrial production and of urban populations. After periods of intense industrialization during the first half of the twentieth century, many northern cities experienced significant industrial decline. In upstate New York, a combination of outdated technology and antiquated building infrastructures considered too expensive to rehabilitate or retrofit were part of the driving force pushing industry into other regions, or out of business entirely. Syracuse, New York, once home to a varied and robust industrial base with several dozen different industries, began to see a decline of industry in the post-War period, and partly as a response to this, saw a drastic decline in population beginning in the 1950s (Gibson 1998). A great number of rustbelt cities were also significantly affected by federally funded urban renewal projects, which, framed as reconstruction, drastically changed the geography and demographics of many cities (Gieryn 2000; Pudup 2008; Weber 2002; McClintock 2008). Urban renewal projects took place in an estimated 1,600 cities across the country (Ducre 2012: 35), and were responsible for the displacement of a significant proportion of poor Black inhabitants from neighborhoods or districts targeted for redevelopment to other areas of the city, fracturing communities while also creating isolated enclaves of concentrated poverty in urban Black ghettos (Ducre 2012; Wilson 2007). Often, neighborhoods inhabited predominantly by people of color were subject to intense scrutiny by health and building code officials, who cited building or fire code violations that would allow the city to raze and rebuild.

Coinciding with the exodus of industry, and a more general divestment from the urban core, white flight from cities also catalyzed the loss of public and private services and urban commercial development, while also indicating a significant shrinking of the urban tax base. This has directly affected the quality of public schools and other services dependent on a robust tax base, as well as the willingness of businesses or banking institutions to invest capital into neighborhoods with falling housing prices, perceived to be an undesirable area to live (Wilson 2007; Massey & Denton 1993). The federal housing policies that encouraged middle and upper class (white) Americans to move into the

suburbs were part of a variety of both subtly discriminatory and overtly racist policies that contributed to the economic and demographic decline in the rustbelt.

For communities living in poverty or in areas that were spatially, economically or politically isolated from the wealthier and more privileged inhabitants, these changes had deep and lasting implications. Many full service grocery stores in the 1960s and 1970s left urban zones in favor of suburban locations where land was less expensive and tax incentives more readily available (Eisenhauer 2001; Lane et al. 2008). The loss of these as well as other commercial and residential investments in urban centers was particularly devastating to already impoverished neighborhoods. Decreases in industry, urban renewal, and the exodus of both people and capital from rustbelt cities had a compound effect on the vitality of the city as a whole, but more intensely on impoverished neighborhoods and ghettos, which housed the majority of a city's communities of color.

According to the Federal Housing Authority Black Americans were associated with risk (Kimble 2008); from the agency's inception in 1934 their sequestration was either tacitly or overtly practiced by many housing agencies. The FHA had a categorically negative perception of urban geographic mobility for Black inhabitants, and policies reflected attempts to manage the movement of Black bodies while enabling geographic and ultimately economic mobility for whites. While federal efforts were increasing construction of houses and encouraging home ownership to certain contingents of the American public, HOLC was responsible for institutionalizing the discriminatory practice known as "redlining", part of a ranking system that evaluated the risk of making loans to different urban neighborhoods (Massey & Denton 1993). Research done by the Federal Housing Authority on neighborhood composition was used as evidence as to why banks should not grant mortgages to people wishing to move into integrated or predominantly Black neighborhoods (Kimble 2008). Beginning in the 1930s and 1940s, a government sponsored agency, the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) instituted policies strongly discouraging lenders from offering mortgages to Black Americans or to anyone wishing to live in racially integrated neighborhoods (Kimble 2008: 400; Massey & Denton 1993: 51).

In 1937, a map drawn of Syracuse assigned different levels of mortgage loan security to urban neighborhoods according to a color-coded scale (Grimm 1937). From green (first grade) to red (fourth grade), neighborhoods were given a ranking, which directly corresponded to one's capacity to procure a loan for either residential or commercial purposes. Green areas in Syracuse lie at the periphery of the city, with the exception of the very affluent neighborhood along James Street. Redlining practices systematically influenced mortgage-lending institutions and mortgage seekers through direct lending practices and interest manipulation. Zones designated in yellow and red coincide geographically with the Black ghetto neighborhoods of the time, including the 15th ward. These categorizations of neighborhood quality made it almost impossible to receive a mortgage loan, but also provided the rationale for the demolition of houses and apartments in predominantly Black neighborhoods (Ducre 2012: 33). Redlined neighborhoods do not just delimit geographic areas where the housing stock is deemed less desirable, but also outline neighborhoods where banks are unwilling to support business development or provide loans for building repairs and renovations. Many redlined areas in Syracuse were the target of urban renewal projects and housing demolition, a pattern seen consistently across cities affected by urban renewal (McClintock 2008; Weber 2002; Pulido 2000). White flight from the inner cities must be understood in the context of redlining and other federal policies. While it also occurred during periods of intense deindustrialization and an increasing attractiveness of the suburbs, white flight was also partly a response to redlining practices.

Hirsch asserts that "a conscious, deliberate choice for segregation lay at the heart of national policy" (2000: 207) that went beyond just influencing home loans, but also included policies which intended to increase the perceived risk of racially or socioeconomically integrated neighborhoods. The 'invasion' of Blacks into white neighborhoods was assumed to destabilize and devalue the housing market, and neighborhoods with a large or majority Black population were systematically portrayed as "old and quite congested" or where residents "display no pride in ownership" (Home Owners' Loan Corporation 1937, quoted in Ducre 2012). Redlining practices and other discriminatory practices, as well as the establishment of exclusive housing covenants were legally practiced until the signing of the Fair Housing Act was signed in 1968.

Ghetto populations increased steadily until the 1950s, intensifying race- and class-based segregation in already impoverished and geographically isolated neighborhoods. During this period of legalized housing and social segregation, many public and private institutions also had specifically designated separate sections for "whites" and "coloreds". Overtly racist practices were combined with infrastructural subsidization that intensified in the post-War era to build transportation networks and finance the construction of houses in suburban areas (Sbicca 2012). A massive loss of wealth from cities in the urban core of rust belt cities began in earnest during this period with the facilitated departure of mostly white, wealthy people and the subsidized surburbanization of the peripheral zones (Wacquant 1994; Zenk et al. 2005; Whitehead et al. 2000). Government subsidization of highways and transportation infrastructure, as well as of middle income housing, were designed to facilitate the movement of (white) families and workers to the suburbs, to support a lifestyle more dependent on cars, and to give affluent communities a lifestyle where they could work either in the suburbs or commute into cities (Pulido 2000; Pedroni 2011; Weber 2002). The later phases of urban renewal projects often included the construction of freeways or interstates through city neighborhoods, which was the result of President Eisenhower's National Interstate and Defense Highways Act of 1956. High speed interstates connecting the inner city with the urban periphery and more distant suburbs further eased transportation in and out of downtown areas which, for wealthier individuals, helped to facilitate life in the suburbs and work in the cities (Sbicca 2012; McClintock 2008; Pulido 2000; Pedroni 2011).

Because of high levels of spatial segregation of African Americans in the rust belt, the demographic shifts in the post-war era had a particularly strong effect of concentrating poverty in Black ghetto neighborhoods (Massey & Fischer 2000: 671). Massey and Denton (1993) highlight the historical unwillingness of white people to live in a neighborhood with more than a small percentage of people of color, a preference that has not changed in recent decades. The mostly permanent demographic and economic shifts of white people and wealth out of the urban core had the effect of concentrating poor urban Blacks in ghettoized enclaves that had simultaneously lost many of the resources, and much of the social cohesion that coincided with a diversified and prosperous urban economy (Wacquant 1994).

Beginning in the 1940s, and especially during the fifties and sixties, the concentration of black poverty in ghetto enclaves was exacerbated by city-initiated and often federally funded urban renewal programs. During the fifties and sixties, the Black urban ghetto was vulnerable to the effects of federally funded urban renewal projects that displaced thousands of people in an estimated 1,600 cities across the country (Ducre 2012: 35). Often, neighborhoods inhabited predominantly by people of color were subject to intense scrutiny by health and building code officials, who cited violations that would allow the city to raze and rebuild. Nationwide attempts to rid cities of blight, poverty, and crime, and to revitalize shrunken urban economies led to these redevelopment projects in the majority of northeastern and northern central rustbelt cities. Urban reconstruction and development were initiated as a response to the departure of industry, capital, and population (Wilson 2007), and as an attempt to change the spatial and economic character of cities. Urban renewal involved business and neighborhood relocation, the use of eminent domain to acquire buildings for development projects, tearing down old buildings and rebuilding different structures, and often included the construction of highways or interstates to ease traffic and congestion, and to facilitate the commute into and out of cities.

As a result of many of these geographic and economic changes in industrial cities across the country, Black communities were fractured and relocated, with more impoverished Blacks generally relocated into low-income housing projects, deepening and crystallizing the stickiness of concentrated poverty and racialized space within cities (Saldanha 2006; Ducre 2012; Massey & Fischer 2000). Wilson (2007: 26) argues that it was these urban renewal projects, "stunning in their obliteration of African-American neighborhoods", that were responsible for the intense growth in population of the Black urban ghetto.

Syracuse, together with most of the rustbelt cities in New York and elsewhere, experienced drastic restructuring via urban renewal in the late 1950s and 1960s (Ducre 2012; Stamps and Stamps 2008). Urban renewal in Syracuse consisted of the destruction of the 15th Ward, a majority Black (and previously Jewish) neighborhood in the city, and the relocation of many poor inhabitants within the city. Throughout the 1950s, the 15th ward had become increasingly segregated through processes of Black isolation and segregation due in part to the exodus of white Syracusans, including the Jewish

community. Although many anecdotal sources characterized Syracuse's 15th Ward as crime-ridden and dangerous, a slum or blighted area of the city, former inhabitants recall a tight-knit community of families, a place where no one locked their doors (Kirst 2013; Our Stories 2013; Williams 1993). Despite the sense of community and safety, in the late 1930s the Federal Housing Authority had demarcated the 15th ward as a risky and undesirable residential location, preventing homeowners and businesses from receiving mortgages or loans necessary to renovate, upgrade, build, or invest. At the time of urban renewal, government subsidized housing projects such as Pioneer Homes housed a significant number of Black inhabitants in Syracuse's 15th ward. The housing project itself, as well as the surrounding areas, were part of the "clearance and redevelopment" part of Syracuse's urban renewal project (Ducre 2012; Office of City Planning Commission 1955).

Part of the 15th Ward is now known as Armory Square, a commercial district of bars, restaurants, and boutique shopping, where luxury apartment buildings and lofts house a predominantly white population. During the later phase of urban renewal in Syracuse, Interstate 81 was built through the heart of the downtown district where the 15th Ward had stood, creating a physical divide in the city between geographic zones, and cementing the sequestration of Black bodies away from downtown districts and affluent neighborhoods (Black Syracuse Project 2013; Our Stories 2013). Upstate Medical Center, a major employer in the service sector of Syracuse, was also built during this time, located adjacent to the housing project Pioneer Homes. Because urban municipalities had discretion over the location of subsidized housing projects, a combination of pressures stemming from both manipulative politics and white racist ideologies lead to their placement almost exclusively within neighborhoods targeting urban Black inhabitants. By 1981 in Chicago, for example, 95 percent of all public housing was occupied by Black Americans (Wacquant 1994: 257). Pioneer Homes, in Syracuse, as well as other Syracuse Housing Authority residencies, are located in predominantly Black neighborhoods such as Syracuse's South Side which is now over 65 percent Black, with a median income almost $8 thousand less than the average income in Syracuse (NRSA 2011; see appendix). Pioneer Homes still functions as government subsidized housing today, and while it once housed a predominantly white population, it is now occupied almost entirely by Blacks (Sieh 2004). During urban renewal project, municipal governments often designated housing relocation offices without appropriately considering deeply

ingrained real estate racisms which, in effect, worked to further segregate and concentrate poor Black inhabitants into urban ghetto formations (Ducre 2012).

The continued presence of racist policies through the late 1960s - housing, banking, urban renewal, and otherwise - had crystallized processes of ghetto creation and of racialized segregation in rust belt cities well into the 1970s and beyond. Massey and Denton (1993) assert that many of the discriminatory housing practices were continued as late as the 1980s and 1990s, despite anti-discrimination legislation of the 1960s. Both in urban and suburban areas, the use of restrictive housing covenants and zoning regulations was successful in preventing Black families from moving into white neighborhoods and ultimately in the persistence of racialized space within urban areas. Policies such as exclusive housing covenants and neighborhood redlining continued to be practiced tacitly, and their influence and legacy have remained strongly in place over the ensuing decades with long-lasting effects on the racial geographies of cities. These policies established very real geographic and economic boundaries between the predominantly Black or minority poor sections of town and the wealthy, mostly white, areas of the city (Massey & Denton 1993; Wilson 2007). In neighborhoods that were once redlined, difficulties in obtaining a mortgage did not subside, and Blacks have consistently experienced discrimination while searching for rental units or houses (see Betram 1988). While the geography of racial segregation within Syracuse and much of the rust belt has shifted over the years and continues to respond to urbanizing processes, the maintenance of the Black ghetto and of concentrated Black poverty within the city has been a successful project. Wacquant (1994: 234) describes the ghetto as "the product…of a transformation of the political articulation of race, class, and urban space in both discourse and objective reality". Indeed, city landscapes and the realities of racialized space have been slow to respond to legislative shifts, demonstrating further evidence of the viscosity or stickiness evoked by Saldanha.

Anti-discrimination legislation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Fair Housing Act of 1968 was not attached to any specific mechanisms for implementation, instead relying on more local level implementation by each state or government agency individually (Wacquant 1994). These pieces of legislation have thus been at least partially impotent as political tools, and much of the discrimination

they intended to eliminate has remained ingrained in housing, education, and employment practices, among others. In many neighborhoods and counties across the country, racially restrictive language still exists in housing covenants or on housing deeds prohibiting "ownership by Negroes" or to "any person not of the Caucasian race" (Rich 2005). Furthermore, despite federal legislation that makes theses exclusionary practices illegal, language cannot be stricken from the covenants without neighborhood consent, leaving open the possibility that residents still feel a moral obligation to uphold the covenant.

While implementation of the Civil Rights Acts has been inconsistent, at best, there has been little or no regard to other forms of racialized urban inequities that are correlated to or caused by housing discrimination trends and pattern of white flight. Anti-discrimination legislation and political attention to eliminating racialized inequities focused primarily on employment, housing, education, and completely ignored other facets of institutionalized discrimination. The right to fair access to food has never been considered a necessary part of anti-discrimination legislation; food retail development has been folded into other forms of commercial development in urban areas or ignored completely as an urban issue to be resolved through market-based methods (Pothukuchi & Kaufman 2000). This has implicitly encouraged retail establishments to seek out the most profitable and beneficial locations – to pursue increased exchange value at the detriment to use values – rather than serving an entire population equally. Influenced by the same imperative of advanced capitalism, retail capital – including retail grocery outlets – reflects the importance of increasing centralization and corporatization, adapting to models of economies of scale in order to remain competitive (Bedore 2010: 83).

Thus, community redlining has permanently affected not only housing mortgage lending practices but also patterns of urban commercial development. Grocery store redlining, the exodus of grocery retail markets from impoverished and majority Black neighborhoods, was (and is) common practice (Eisenhauer 2001; Lane et al. 2008), occurring as a reaction to the declines in industry and population in so many rust belt cities. Bedore (2010) argues that the changing socio-spatial configuration of the poor, with increased isolation and polarization, has contributed greatly to uneven food access among

different racial groups. This occurs, she argues, as a direct result of "retail operations that (are) unresponsive to the contemporary socio-spatial dynamics of cities" (2010:83). Syracuse lost four grocery stores from the inner city prior to 1975, which left many inner-city residents dependent on small corner markets and convenience stores for food (Lane et al. 2008: 416). This follows the trend of inner city neighborhoods that are disproportionately served by corner markets and liquor stores, which contribute to a less healthy environment, more expensive food options, and a general lack of food justice (McClintock 2011). While revitalization and renewal projects in the postindustrial city have tried to attract commercial establishments and foot traffic through downtown areas, these efforts are not concerned with the poorer sections of town, and do not focus on more equitable access to affordable and nutritious food, which is usually unproblematic in wealthier (and whiter) neighborhoods of revitalization zones and at the periphery of cities.

Contributing to shifts in capital investment and commercial citing practices, suburban communities have incentivized commercial development through tax abatements and development subsidies, which resulted in the relocation of many grocery stores and food retail markets from cities into the suburbs. Businesses that left inner city locations essentially followed the same patterns as population shift in order to relocate to areas where wealthy people with higher purchasing power were living (Larson 2003). In a study on institutional change and shifts in business in west side of Chicago, it was found that between 1960 and 1970, 75 percent of business left that area (Wacquant & Wilson 1989: 92). Furthermore, in counting the types of establishments that remained in one neighborhood on the west side by the 1980s, the study found "48 state lottery agents, 50 currency exchanges, and 99 licensed bars and liquor stores, but only one bank and one supermarket for a population of some 50,000" (mostly Black) people (Wilson & Wacquant 1989: 92). The trend of larger-scale grocery stores opening locations in the suburbs, and the departure of full service grocery stores from the inner city has been an ongoing and permanent one for many cities, including Syracuse (see chapter 4), reflecting a larger trend of commercial and industrial instability, mirrored in protracted economic instability for lower class inhabitants.

Revitalization in Syracuse: Precarious Employment and Barriers to Access

The geographic exodus of the industrial sector out of Northeastern cities was indicative of a permanent reduction of industrial employment from the rust belt. For a number of reasons, cities in New York State – especially Syracuse – have proven less resilient to economic downturn, and unemployment has remained higher than in other deindustrialized areas of the country (Vey 2007). Testament to the viscosity of urban spatial processes and racialized spaces, the Black ghetto has remained ingrained in the spatial organization of the postindustrial city. During a speech he made in Syracuse three years before being assassinated, Martin Luther King Jr. spoke to the combination of factors that have negatively impacted Black urban populations, saying, "Urban segregated housing patterns, plus increasing Negro population, plus lack of job opportunities, plus movement of white students to suburbs and private schools, have combined to sharply increase the effective segregation of ghetto [schools]" (quoted in Kirst 2012).

The factors that Dr. King highlighted almost fifty years ago regarding urban schools are particularly salient to other sectors of urban life in the Northeastern rustbelt, and especially in the mid-Atlantic region. These cities have experienced a more precipitous and sharp decline in industry than the rest of the country over the latter half of the 19th century (Vey 2007). Geographic shifts in plant citing within the industry was partly a negative response to the strong tradition of unionization in Mid-Atlantic States as well as to the dilapidation of outdated fixed capital infrastructure that had become incredibly expensive to repair and modernize are part of the spatial fix that began to predominate capital flows in the postindustrial era (Newman 1985; Harvey 2005). The spatial fix, or the fluid movement of capital and of forces of production (Harvey 2005), together with wage repression and the disciplining of labor unions, has contributed to the loss of industrial working-class jobs in Syracuse and in the Northeast in general (Crandall 2003; Vey 2007). The spatial fix is illustrated by the drastic decline of machinery industries and metal-related employment in Syracuse, which did not decline nearly as significantly in other geographic regions of the United States (Crandall 2003). Between 1958 and 2002, the proportion of manufacturing jobs in Syracuse dropped from 37% to just 12%; Syracuse's share of manufacturing jobs declined not only in real terms, but relative to the rest of the country as well (Crandall 2003: 5). The loss of manufacturing jobs in Syracuse has continued, with the recent closure of the last of the

Carrier Air Conditioning plants, once one of the largest employers in the area. None of the remaining 1,000 jobs provided by Carrier in Syracuse as of 2011 were in manufacturing (Sturtz 2011). Continued decline in factory jobs of by about 900 between April 2011 and April 2012 and the closure of New Process Gear, an auto parts manufacturing plant, are evidence of a continual shrinking of industry in the region (Knapik-Scalzo 2012). New Process Gear, in operation in Syracuse for 124 years, once employed over 4,000 people with a weekly payroll of about $5 million; it shut down completely in late 2012, after equipment was auctioned off or sent to plants in Mexico and Indiana (Hannagan 2012). Syracuse, as with many deindustrialized cities, has been left with an aging, crumbling, and now mostly vacant industrial infrastructure, as well as a legacy of settlement patterns whereby government housing projects are almost exclusively occupied by the Black urban poor (Sieh 2004) with compromised access to employment, food, education, and health services, among others.

The decline in manufacturing jobs in Syracuse is also indicative of a shift in the kinds of employment that now predominate both in the city of Syracuse and in other postindustrial rust belt cities. As of 2004, the largest employers in the area were Upstate Medical Center, Syracuse University, and the grocery store chain, Wegman's (NYS Department of Labor Statistics), rather than the manufacturing industry that provided the bulk of employment a few decades prior. Syracuse has become a health care center in the Central New York area, with three major hospitals inside the city borders. Reliance on the health care sector in Syracuse was part of a shift to service sector industries, introduced as an attempt to revitalize struggling economies, often had the effect of exacerbating and deepening class- and race-based inequality and poverty levels. Upstate Medical Center and St. Joseph's hospital now figure in the list of the top ten employers in Syracuse; however, these employers have not provided the job security and relatively high pay as manufacturing plants did previously, and the number of jobs available to people with modest levels of education has decreased significantly (Vey 2007; Crandall 2003). Human capital – an individuals' skill set – is not fungible as a commodity or directly transferable without periods of tension and readjustment. The socio-spatial, racial, and educational barriers to access for poor (Black) workers have, in many cases, excluded individuals and entire communities from improving their socio-economic status. Unemployment remains quite high in Syracuse, especially among Black, immigrant, and other minoritized communities, who have quite literally been relegated

to the geographic margins of the city in order to allow for the construction of these inaccessible places of employment. In the predominantly Black South Side of Syracuse, unemployment is almost twice as high as in the city as a whole (NRSA 2011).

This shift in employment in the region is characteristic of revitalization trends in post-industrial cities, where higher paying unionized jobs are replaced by non-unionized service sector jobs. Service sector jobs are part of the establishment of a less stable workforce with little to no labor organization power, requiring workers to accept lower wages in addition to less job certainty (Dauria 1994). Non-unionized jobs that make up the majority of positions available in service sector employment often offer lower wages than unionized manufacturing or industry sector jobs; higher paying managerial positions often require extensive educational training (Massey & Fischer 2000: 670). Furthermore, the geography of employment in Syracuse has shifted from industrial zones to the more commercialized and wealthier downtown districts, as well as the suburban periphery. Wegman's grocery chain, which has a significant presence in Syracuse and in most of Upstate and Central New York, has a history and reputation for being one of the most ethical and "best" companies to work for, ranking fourth on Forbes Magazine's "100 Best Empoyers" list in 2012 (Forbes Magazine). The contradictions embedded in their employment history, however, are evident in the geographical location of most Wegman's supermarkets in suburban and wealthy districts as well as by the closure of their original Syracuse location on Pond St. in the north side of Syracuse, which left an entire neighborhood of mostly minority and immigrant people without a grocery store (O'Toole 2012). The Tops grocery store that opened in late 2012 in Syracuse's Southside has been investigated by community members for charging higher prices than the suburban locations, and not offering employment to community members despite their original claims that the store would bring in up to 100 new jobs (Spitz 2012).

In general, service sector and commercial jobs both in the suburbs and in the inner city were and are not as easily accessible to inner city inhabitants. Because employment in these sectors is generally less stable and lower paying, the risks and barriers to access for low-income inner city inhabitants must be carefully considered. The structure of the suburban job market, which quickly became an important source of employment in metropolitan areas, included significant geographic barriers to access for poor

urban workers. According to William J. Wilson, for those who "rely on public transportation systems that rarely provide easy and quick access to suburban locations" (1996: 39), the requirements for participation in a job market outside of the deindustrializing city can be quite prohibitive. The lack of good transportation options in the city, the risk of not finding employment, the risk of racial discrimination in the job application process, and many other factors all contribute to the difficulty in finding employment for low-income people of color (Whitehead 2000: 10-11). Wilson (1996: 39) also highlights the difficulties that pertain not only to employment, but to travelling outside of one's neighborhood or community on a semi-regular basis, for example to go to the grocery store, or other retail food market, or to a farmer's market: "Among two car middle-class and affluent families, commuting is accepted as a fact of life; but it occurs in a context of safe school environments for children, more available and accessible day care, and higher incomes to support mobile, away-from-home lifestyles. In a multi-tiered job market that requires substantial resources for participation, most-inner-city minorities must rely on public transportation systems that rarely provide easy and quick access to suburban locations".

The spatial dynamics of migration, industrialization, and housing development in the urban rust belt have lead a disproportionate number of Black people and people of color in general to inhabit areas that are not only spatially isolated, but exist in close proximity to urban industrial zones, where they face concentrated environmental toxins, lowered value of real estate, and the reluctance of the city or entrepreneurs to invest in development (Pulido 2000; Guthman 2011; Metcalf & Widener 2011; Holt-Giménez & Yang 2011). Environmental racism is manifest in the Black ghetto, evidenced by toxin producing sites such as landfills, coal burning facilities, and chemical plants in close proximity to or directly adjacent to housing and residential areas (Harvey 1995). Blacks and minorities are much more likely to be displaced by the construction of industrial and manufacturing plants within or adjacent to their communities, and government housing projects are also likely to be cited in proximity to industrial zones or toxic waste zones (Baron 1971; Pulido 2000; Ducre 2012). The racialized inequities evidenced by environmental racism are more apparent in many post-industrial cities, where devalued fixed capital in the form of industrial infrastructure brings down housing values, discourages

commercial and retail investment, and reinforces the barriers and segregation between impoverished areas and the wealthier districts of a city (Pulido 2000; McClintock 2008). Higher levels of poor health conditions such as hypertension, asthma, neural problems, and lead poisoning among the inhabitants of neighborhoods proximal to industrial zones in the rustbelt – especially infants and teens – is a direct result of this form of environmental injustice (Franks, Gold, and Clancy 2000). Historical patterns of environmental racism and injustice are often reflected in geographies of hunger and poverty in the postindustrial city. Environmental racism contributes to the effects of fluid industrial capital and the establishment of jobs with little worker bargaining power (Harvey 2010: 16) in deepening the spatial unevenness of geographies of poverty and hunger. Both forces consistently map hunger and poverty across racialized space. Race-based inequality within cities is deeply embedded in these histories of industry, segregation, and structural inequality, and is equally mirrored in food system inequalities and injustices. Ghettoized neighborhoods are more likely to suffer not only from increased levels of environmental toxins, but also from inequitable spatial distribution of grocery stores and other retail markets, differences in quality, price, and availability of fresh produce and health foods, transportation difficulties, and an overabundance of convenience stores, bodegas, and liquor stores that serve as de facto food retailers (Eisenhauer 2001; Lane et al. 2008; Alkon & Norgaard 2008; Sbicca 2012).

Conclusion: Managing Black Bodies, Entrepreneurializing the City

In the post-industrial economy, income stagnation and declining real wages among the working class has further increased levels of class inequality amongst all ethnic groups, including non-Hispanic whites (The Hamilton Project 2010; Massey & Fischer 2000). Increased class inequality compounds the effects of racial segregation in separating both social classes and racial groups, dividing the urban fabric into wealthier and more impoverished neighborhoods (Massey & Fischer 2000). Black Americans, however, have been the group most affected by the consequences of deindustrialization. Spatial segregation of Black Americans within extremely impoverished urban areas reiterates and crystallizes ghetto formations as racialized spaces where "(B)lack poor's activity spaces and routine paths" are "systematically isolated and managed" (Wilson 2007: 9). The management of Black bodies, or the "banishing of visual trash" happens under the auspices of urban growth and

entrepreneurializing projects in the city and excludes Black people from full participation in urbanizing processes, contributing to the stereotype of African-Americans as non-productive members of the city.

Such strategies for revitalization include the establishment of "urban enterprise zones" to attract entrepreneurs and businesses in order to inject capital into cities or city districts in decline. Spatial reconstruction, or reordering of the rust belt, whereby space and bodies are intentionally managed, produces a specific kind of city where poorer neighborhoods and populations are barred from public view, and the public gaze is directed onto "entrepreneurialized" downtowns and historic districts that represent the successes of restructuring policies in attracting capital and investment (Brenner & Theodore 2002; Wilson 2007). Redevelopment strategies such as the establishment of “urban enterprise zones” fit within a reformative framework that does not address the crisis-driven nature of capitalism, the problems with private ownership and social exclusion, and the incessant pursuit of profit (Bluestone & Harrison 1982; Dauria 1994; Harvey 2005, 2010; Polanyi 1944), but rather one that embraces a neoliberal predominance of the market system and of a staunch individualism. Problems of non-performing capital and insufficient profit are resolved by reconfiguring capitalist flow and concentrating money (and power) in the hands of the already rich and powerful (Harvey 2010). Labor organizing has little clout to fight for increased wages and the rights of laborers (Harvey 2010; Guthman 2008b) rather labor is disciplined through neoliberal policies of wage repression while capital is liberated through free market policies.

III. Neoliberalism: Disciplining the Urban Poor

Over the past several decades in the urban United States, and especially during the postindustrial period, dominant historical-geographic processes have aligned with histories of capitalist restructuring and neoliberal policy-making (Brenner & Theodore 2005). According to Brenner and colleagues (2010: 329-330), neoliberalism, or neoliberalization, can be conceptualized as a "patterned tendenc(y) of market disciplinary regulatory restructuring" that "prioritizes market-based, market-oriented or market-disciplinary responses to regulatory problems" often mobilizing speculation in various spheres to open up new markets or financial arenas for profit-making through capitalist financialization. Neoliberalism in the postindustrial city "represents a process of market-driven social and spatial transformation" which coalesces – as 'neoliberalization' – with ongoing and evolving urbanizing processes (Brenner & Theodore 2005: 102). Neoliberally-oriented, economically-disciplining policies have been designed to promote capital accumulation through a strong business and entrepreneurial presence, the free flow of goods including agricultural commodities and foodstuffs, and by attracting capital back into urban areas that have long suffered from a loss of both population and wealth (Brenner & Theodore 2002; Brenner et al. 2010; Alkon & Mares 2012).

In addition to this conceptual and more broadly based understanding of neoliberalization, Alkon & Mares (2012) outline what they consider to be three facets of neoliberalism or neoliberalization that are most relevant to food systems and the study of food movements. Firstly, they argue that trade liberalization and the heightened commodification of agricultural products was fundamental to the formation of the third food regime, what McMichael (2005) terms the corporate food regime. The liberalization of trade has resulted in a worldwide consolidation and increased corporatization not only of food production, but also of distribution, and has removed much of the protections that trade tariffs and regulations once offered as a buffer between peasant smallholders and corporate industrial food producers (Alkon & Mares 2012: 349). The corporatization of food production and distribution has contributed to the scaling up of worldwide food production streams and the increased commodification of food, farmland, and farm worker labor (Polanyi 1944) which indicates, in turn, an increasingly socially disembedded global food system that is based no where and yet exists everywhere

simultaneously. Renting (2012: 295) notes the problematic framing of food production as commensurable to any other economic activity and of food as any other tradable commodity, arguing that the market response to controlling these commodities has not responded to societal and public concerns about developments in agricultural production and distribution practices.

The second and third points are most central to the current study: the retrenchment of the state and the establishment of neoliberal subjectivities. The shrinking or retrenchment of the state and the subsequent transfer of services that had previously been under the auspices of a more welfare-oriented state to the private sector or community groups is a prominent feature of neoliberalizing processes. Concerning alternative food practices, Alkon and Mares (2012: 349) highlight the importance of critically examining the role that community groups take on in their attempts to "address an array of social problems" – as ad hoc environmental stewards and developers of poverty solutions – through market-based approaches such as organic and local food choices. Mary Beth Pudup (2008: 1238) contends that according to the tenets of neoliberally-minded "consumption projects", "citizenship achieves its most perfect expression through consumer choice in the marketplace". In addition to those that reinforce neoliberal economic ideologies through "vote with your fork" initiatives (Pollan 2006b), community organizations or food justice advocates are in danger of justifying "the dismantlement of entitlement programs" by taking "responsibility for the provisioning of food in low-income and communities of color" (Alkon & Mares 2012: 349). The tension between community empowerment through such initiatives as food sovereignty or food justice, and absolving the state of its previously held responsibilities is a fine line that must be critically addressed.

Finally, neoliberalization exists as both a material and discursive project (Allen and Guthman 2006); the economic principles that guide free market liberalization and market-based solutions to economic regulatory problems have their ideological counterpart in "neoliberal subjectivities" (Alkon & Mares 2012; Del Casino & Jocoy 2008; Pudup 2008; Guthman 2008b), which emphasize individual responsibility, empowerment, and self-sufficiency, often focusing on entrepreneurialism and a lack of dependence on social services. Alkon and Mares (2012) argue that the entrepreneurial focus of many community food security and food justice organizations reinforces the idea that the market is capable

of addressing social problems, a key tenet of neoliberal subjectivities. In addition, while individual and community empowerment are beneficial in many ways, ideals of self-sufficiency hold individuals or communities responsible for rectifying problems not of their making (Alkon & Mares 2012), or for redressing the "scope of injustices of the past" (Allen 2010: 302). Guthman and Depuis argue that neoliberalism, as a discursive project, is responsible for the increased stigma – both of body size and of food consumption – "as a way to marginalize and control particular groups" (2006: 429). Collective beliefs about citizenship and the assigning of individual subjectivities often happens in "spaces of neoliberal governmentality" through "projects in which certain individual and collective subjectivities could be produced for the maintenance of prevailing and/or in concert with the creation of emergent social orders" (Pudup 2008: 1228-1229). Pudup provides as an example the prevalence of community gardening as a reaction to recurring cycles of capitalist restructuring and the need for a level of self-sufficiency in the face of social and economic displacement and dislocation. There are, of course, other interpretations of the social implications of community gardens and urban farming, as part of a resilience strategy or a way to build community solidarity (Stamps & Stamps 2008), or as a form of urban rehabilitation and community revitalization (Meenar et al. 2012). It is necessary, therefore, to evaluate the nuances of various urban projects, their potential to reproduce neoliberalism or to build community capacity, while recognizing that these two effects might not always be mutually exclusive. While neoliberal projects are sometimes framed as if manifest homogenously and simultaneously everywhere, there is no pure or absolute form of neoliberalism. Neoliberalization – as a process – exists differently everywhere, in hybridized and contingent forms that grow out of and evolve from historical governance structures, and remain in continuous tension, both entrenching free-market ideologies and correcting for the crises that this sets off.

Economic Disciplining and Welfare Reform

Within the setting of postindustrial urban space, economic stagnation or depression, and the perceived threat of a globalized economy to eclipse the localized potential of cities to perform economically, a series of disciplinary policies have been put in place in the urban rust belt (Wilson 2007). The goal of urban renewal during the mid-century period was to revitalize the urban economy through physical

restructuring and spatial reconfiguring of the urban built environment. More recently, the economic and political response in economically struggling postindustrial cities such as found in the rust belt, has been a series of economic restructuring and capital reconfiguring of the financial landscape of the city, nonetheless with clear implications for the built environment and geography of cities. Especially in New York State – where industry once offered employment to over a third of the working population, catalyzing huge demographic thrusts of people into the city – the mid-century shifts in industry coupled with the economic crises of the late sixties and early seventies catalyzed shock after shock in urban areas (Vey 2007; Brenner & Theodore 2002). Commercial investment and retail capital followed the spatial patterns of outmigration from urban areas, mostly resettling in suburban peripheral zones (Newman 1985; Kaufman & Bailkey 2000). Syracuse, New York has more vacant lots and homes than any other area in Central New York (see the Appendix). With one in five houses lying vacant in some areas of the city and the number of vacant lots rising by about a third between 2000 and 2009, it has become a serious deterrent for new investment in affected neighborhoods, which only exacerbates the problem for both residents and business owners (Sieh 2009).

Political reaction to the multiple shocks to urban systems have varied over time and geographical location, but especially in the rust belt, the disciplinary economic policies that have taken hold intend to "cut the fat" off of government spending in favor of politics of austerity (Wilson 2007). In the northeastern and northern central rust belt, neoliberalizing processes have largely occurred as a reaction to the decline in economic growth and deindustrializing processes as well as in response to the perceived threat of global economic competition. The latter perceived threat has encouraged cities to attract business and entrepreneurial capital in striving to achieve "global city status" (Cameron & Palan 2004; Street 2007: 260). Simultaneous cuts to social services, education, welfare programs, and to government social spending in general are examples of how neoliberalization can shape both social relations within cities and crystallize a lack of social and economic mobility among the urban poor. Street (2007: 260) argues that this has resulted in a split labor market, between "higher-end professional positions for which relatively few black, inner-city residents are qualified and a larger number of lesser-skilled and poorly paid postindustrial service jobs for minorities". Bonacich (1976) argues that there has always been a relative disadvantage to Black workers on the labor market, which

has been exacerbated by everything from racist union practices to increased displacement in Black communities, and educational inequalities. Bonacich's split labor market theory remains extremely salient in explaining how neoliberal governance structures have aggravated inequalities in employment opportunities between minority and white workers. As I discuss in the previous chapter, the transition to a service sector economy in the rust belt was not seamless; the disjuncture of skill set versus industry need was most prominent amongst least-skilled workers, who have historically been predominantly Black or minority (Bonacich 1976; Baron 1971). The global city evoked by Street (2007) is characterized not only by a bifurcation of the labor market, but also by spatial shifts in housing, businesses, and manufacturing as well as in economic shifts in business and commercial investment and in social service availability; these multifaceted inequalities have dramatically increased geographic polarizations of race and class.

Economic disciplining and politics of austerity, or the rolling back of Keynesian economic policies during the 1980s, built upon historical geopolitical formations (Brenner & Theodore 2002), contributing to the ongoing and deepening uneven geographical development of the postindustrial city. As part of a neoliberally oriented response to perceived reliance of poor people on welfare, this paved the way for welfare reform in the 1990s and for programs like Workfare, which were implemented in cities across the rust belt such as Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and cities across New York State. Between 1994 and 2004, there was a 61 percent reduction in welfare caseloads in New York State, while the state maintained the largest gap between the wealthy and the poor of any other state in the US (Glick 2006). Theories about the effectiveness of employment programs such as Workfare, whose central premise is that participation in the waged labor workforce is a prerequisite for full citizenship (Wilson 2007), have not accounted for the maintained high levels of inequality and poverty in the rust belt. Especially in smaller deindustrialized cities like Syracuse that have performed disproportionately worse than most larger rust belt cities (Vey 2009), politics of austerity have been put into place as an attempt to attract capital, manage resources, and to create a more "responsible" citizenry. The majority of Workfare programs, however, provided contingent labor menial part-time jobs, which, even when combined with welfare disbursements, provide insufficient income to support a family and barely enough to support an individual. Wilson (2007) argues that the restructuring of cities

intending to encourage capitalist consumption and continually attract new capital investment exacerbates the shameful framing of welfare recipients as 'excessive' consumers due to their reliance on government support. By relegating those 'unproductive' members of society to the geographical margins of urban space while maintaining them in low-skilled and low-paying jobs, they are left with little chance for social mobility. A similar shameful framing surrounds people who are dependent on emergency food provisioning services such as food pantries or soup kitchen; both framings discursively mask the structural and institutional histories that have created poverty, unemployment, and need, and excuse a lack of political will to find effective solutions.

Disciplinary policies encouraging austerity in government spending and as a way to promote capitalist growth have not only led to geographically uneven capitalist development in cities, but also to the continual displacement of minority populations, fracturing communities and impeding upon resilience strategies that contribute to the social cohesion within communities of color. A series of construction and development projects in Syracuse that invested heavily in the creation of an historic downtown shopping district directly lead to the displacement of several thousand Black Syracusans, the majority of whom now populate the South Side of the city (Ducre 2012). The continual displacement of poor Blacks in the interest of city growth highlights the ways in which impoverished inhabitants of ghetto neighborhoods are framed as excessive and undeserving while their bodies and life-chances are continuously being managed and disciplined by the interests of the neoliberal 'global city'. The South Side of Syracuse is over sixty percent Black American, with an average annual income of just under $23,000, while the city at large has a median income of over $30,000 (NRSA 2011).

Capitalist Restructuring and Redevelopment: Spaces of (Un)deserving

Neoliberal restructuring, or the preeminence of the market as an organizing factor, has focused particularly on attracting capital and fostering economic growth within cities whose economic profiles show economic decline or stagnation. The goal of urban renewal during the mid-century period was to revitalize the urban economy through physical restructuring and spatial reconfiguring of the urban built environment. More recently, the economic and political response in economically struggling

postindustrial cities in the rust belt, manifests as a series of economic restructuring and capital reconfiguring of the financial landscape of the city, nonetheless with clear implications for the built environment and geography of cities. The spatial reconstruction, or reordering, of rust belt cities whereby space and bodies are intentionally managed, produces a specific kind of city where poorer neighborhoods and populations are barred from public view, and the public gaze is directed onto 'entrepreneurialized' downtowns and historic districts that represent the successes of neoliberal policies in attracting capital and investment (Brenner & Theodore 2002; Wilson 2007). None of these efforts, and very few in general, pay attention to districts outside of these 'entrepreneurialized' zones, or encourage public attention to less affluent and less commercialized areas of the city. Representations of certain people as 'undeserving', as separate or 'othered' from responsible (white) 'contractual citizens', serves to bolster the political-economic ideological goals of urban neoliberalism (Shram 2000) to concentrate capital in specific commercial and entrepreneurial zones, and to filter it away from ineffective and unproductive spaces (Wilson 2007; Del Casino & Jocoy 2008). This bifurcation of space acts as an important discursive divide between the deserving and the marginalized, white communities and communities of color, responsible citizens and 'flawed' individuals, and has maintained the space for broad sweeping neoliberal corrective and restructuring policies.

Throughout the 80s, the widespread deployment of neoliberal regulatory policies and the corresponding political and economic discourses helped to formulate a collective consciousness of generally held perceptions, mostly in wealthier areas and amongst decision makers in the urban rust belt, depicting racially marginalized and poor neighborhoods as decrepit and failing[4] (Wilson 2007; Harvey 1973: 133). Welfare reform and the scaling back of social programs together with this increased stigmatization of the urban Black ghetto has reinforced a deepening of racialized spaces, which are enveloped by a fear of and marginalization of Black men and youth (in particular) as well as of crime and the danger of ghetto streets (Wilson 2007). Building on the discursive formations of the 1980s that portrayed the ghetto as "beginning to implode", or as a place of excess consumption and decrepitude being destroyed by such rhetorical formations as "welfare mothers" or "generic welfare

[4] See David Wilson (2007) for further discussion of public perceptions on the racialized ghetto; see Lawson et al. (2008) for discussion on representations of poverty in America.

chiselers", in the post 1990s era, these spaces have been marked as "fully deformed" places that have irrevocably turned for the worse (Wilson 2007). The rendering of Black bodies and spaces as dangerous, risky, hedonistic, and dependent works to "reveal the supposed truths (that)… such people are culturally off-the-map and in need of social revamping" (Wilson 2007: 54). Claims that urban Black poverty are the result of personal irresponsibilities and even a 'degenerate nature' are not new, but have been deeply embedded into new cultural understandings of proper and full citizenship that do not take into account "structural and historical forces of racial and/or class oppression" (Street 2007: 285). Cultivated subjectivities of and understandings of the urban poor, ghetto neighborhoods, and the individualization of responsibility are partly the result of retrenched social provisioning, and represent the urban poor as 'flawed and needy individuals' (Lawson et al 2008: 746; Street 2007).

Understandings of inequality are thus formulated as stemming from the irresponsible or poor choices of individuals rather than from unequal or uneven social structures (Willis et al. 2008: 5). Neoliberal subjectivities of personal responsibility (and blame) serve to further the economic and political goals of capitalist restructuring, representing an increasingly influential hegemony of everyday thoughts and perceptions about ideals such as individualism, efficiency, and self-help (Alkon 2012; Del Casino and Jocoy, 2008; Stephenson, 2003). These ideologies, together with geographies of poverty in rustbelt cities, the management and marginalization of Black bodies and spaces all contribute to creating a story of ghettoized neighborhoods as "the city terrain that least deserves public and private resources in new global times" (Wilson 2007: 58). Government policies aiming to contain and manage the "unproductive" and "dependent" members of society are attached to discourses of responsibility and full citizenship (Del Casino & Jocoy 2008; Lawson et al. 2008), which help to discursively determine "who deserves what from whom and who owes what to whom" (Burt et al. 2001: 324).

Areas targeted for revitalization, or redevelopment zones, are far removed from impoverished Black ghettos, representing only "icons for what their cities can and need to become" (Wilson 2007: 3). The juxtaposition of these zones of capitalist investment to areas of concentrated poverty not only leads to further marginalization and segregation of the urban poor but work to distract the public gaze from sites of dilapidation and urban decline. This particular strategy represents a restructuring of capital

away from welfare and social programs to capitalist investment and the creation of "landscapes of consumption, pleasure, and affluent residency" (Wilson 2007: 3). In Syracuse, where thousands of manufacturing jobs have been lost, and only some of them replaced through service sector and healthcare industry revitalization (see Chapter 1), revitalization investment is very explicitly dedicated to specific geographic locations. Several historical buildings downtown are being converted into luxury apartments; a large-scale project known as DestiNY USA was recently completed, doubling the size of the shopping mall north of the city (Niedt 2011); the Connective Corridor, a collaborative project between Syracuse University and the city, aims to improve transportation along commercial and arts districts in the city; and the city funds an active media campaign to attract both local residents and visitors to restaurants and businesses in downtown Syracuse. Notably, all but one of these efforts focus on a specific and increasingly affluent downtown district of Syracuse, and they all encourage active participation in a vibrant capitalist consumer culture.

Shifts in culture, economy and governance structures that emphasize individual choice and free market economic systems as solutions to poverty create the illusion of 'empowered' consumers who have choices in their market interactions. Within a 'common-sense' understanding of American culture, the idea of individual freedom has a particularly powerful sway, and broad appeal across socio-economic, cultural, and political lines (Harvey 2005: 39-40). The deployment of a politics whereby individual freedoms are promised serves as a mask for the corresponding retrenchment of the state and the subsequent concentration of capital among the upper classes. Attachment to personal freedoms and individualism is also reflected in the belief that unemployment is voluntary, a result of the "reserve price" of wages being set too high (by laborers themselves) rather than allowing free market forces to determine 'natural' wage rates (Harvey 2010)[5]. Framing unemployment – and therefore poverty – as a choice forecloses on any close examination of social and economic policies that exacerbate unemployment, or increase levels of inequality (Lawson et al. 2008: 744). This example of problem

[5] A World Bank report supports this claim by arguing that even extremely low paying employment is beneficial, and doesn't necessarily lead to poverty, because "low paid workers are often secondary earners whose earnings complement incomes of other family members" (Rachid et al. 2005: 64, quoted in Smith et al. 2008: 173). The World Bank report doesn't, however, give any evidence to support the claim that low-wage employment is supplemented by other earners within the family unit.

closure (Guthman 2011) regarding the root causes of poverty leads to solutions that, once again, target individual behavior and a reliance on free-market ideologies. In a context where individuals are held responsible, the structural problems of a capitalist system that relies on a reserve labor force of unemployed people remain well masked. The contradictions of neoliberalization render the urban poor liable for the void left by the retrenchment of the state and frames them as undeserving of investment, while government and investment capital is funneled into and concentrated in redevelopment zones, revitalized historic districts and downtown districts (Wilson 2007; Street 2007; Ducre 2012).

Thus neoliberalizing projects that simultaneously discipline the urban poor and expand capitalist consumption in wealthier entrepreneurial zones appear logical and necessary. Capitalist restructuring has prioritized the creation of efficient channels for capital flow, the optimization of growth potential, and the creation of maximum potential for making profit. Urban municipalities have focused enormous political and economic attention on the establishment of commercial business districts and development corridors as well as the revitalization of historic districts and more upscale residential zones – investments that will hypothetically attract further investment and business activity (Street 2007; Wilson 2007). The creative destruction of neoliberal policies – the demolition of outdated fixed capital infrastructure and the elimination of public spending and social programs in favor of financialized and entrepreneurialized urban economies – has had very real social and spatial implications within urban space. As Neil Smith argues, the neoliberal state as it is manifest in urbanism and urbanizing policies "increasingly expresses the impulses of capitalist production rather than social reproduction" (2002: 427). Social reproduction within the Black communities in Syracuse happens in the face of physical dislocation and displacement (Ducre 2012; Stamps & Stamps 2008), and the characterization of impoverished Black communities and neighborhoods as undeserving and irresponsible. Investment strategies and political formations that work discursively to further marginalize the poor Black ghetto have contributed to "new forms of social polarization", as well as changing geographies of poverty and hunger. Indeed, processes of "market-driven and spatial transformation" (Brenner & Theodore 2005: 102) have determined and shaped urban geographies, reinforcing racialized inequalities, and, by emphasizing free market economics and neoliberal capitalist

growth, have helped to reify the power structures that influence and (re)produce inequitable food systems.

Much of what is written about neoliberal restructuring and the uneven nature of neoliberal capitalist development does not address the role of protracted structural racism in perpetuating uneven development of the urban food system. Brenner and colleagues (2002; 2005; 2010) have written extensively about the uneven, hybridized, and historically contingent nature of neoliberal regulatory projects. However, they emphasize the effects of path-dependency, or the viscosity often present in the urban environment that partly determines the evolution of urban spatial and social forms towards a combination of "elements of the old geographical order" and "aspects of the (neoliberal and/or progressively modernized) 'projected spaces'" (Brenner & Theodore 2002: 359). Historical contingencies and path-dependencies are important to understanding how neoliberal restructuring and the entrenched subjectivities formulated and advanced in the 1980s and nineties are built upon and further exacerbate historical and geographical urban racial inequality (Weber 2002; Slocum 2007; Guthman 2008b; Wilson 2007; McClintock 2008). The combination of protracted structural racism and market-driven food system inequities creates disproportionate vulnerability and food insecurity amongst already vulnerable and underserved populations: Blacks and Hispanics, new immigrants, single mother families, and the urban poor in general.

Historically, people of color have been excluded from the management of land, and have had little to no role in deciding how food is produced, distributed and commercialized[6]. In a study of vulnerable immigrant populations, George Borjas (2002) has shown that a decrease in the percentage of the population that receives welfare assistance has a direct and negative effect on food insecurity, and actually increases the percentage of food insecure people. Nutritional deficiencies amongst Native American, Hispanic, and Black groups contribute to higher rates of mortality than would otherwise be

[6] Within the food system, the labor of people of color is exploited and their health endangered as agricultural workers (National Agricultural Workers Survey Data 2010 [2004]; see NCFH 2009). People of color make up the majority of farm workers in this country, and yet do not legally have the right to unionize[6]; nearly a quarter of farmworkers live under the poverty line, and a disproportionate number are also food insecure, and yet face institutional barriers to accessing programs such as social security or SNAP benefits (NCFH 2012).

expected (Shields 2005: 3), and the detrimental effect on child development can be seen throughout a person's life, diminishing their life chances and those of their children (Heynen 2009). As a consumer base, the power of Black communities has been manipulated by the corporate food system to push high calorie, high sodium food within impoverished neighborhoods of color and in emergency feeding programs (Billings & Cabbil 2012; Holt-Giménez & Wang 2012; Guthman & DuPuis 2006; Larson et al. 2009; McMichael 2009). Black and minority neighborhoods are served by an excessively high number of liquor and convenience stores, while also experiencing a dearth of full-service grocery stores (McClintock 2011: 89; Eisenhauer 2001; Lane et al. 2008; Massey & Denton 1993). As a consequence, people of color are disproportionately harmed by the dominant food system along the entire supply chain from production to consumption, and simultaneously silenced regarding transformation of this system. Within the Northeastern rust belt and in Syracuse in particular, this racialized effect has the largest impact on the Black community. Neoliberal governance structures that emphasize a self-regulating market economy do nothing to correct for the uneven and inequitable commercial development, and in fact perpetuate the deepening of racialized space through uneven investment and development schemes, motivated by the perceived necessity for a specific kind of capitalist growth in cities (Wilson 2007). The geographical shift of food retail markets, enduring high levels of unemployment among the Black community, together with a retrenchment of the government social spending in favor of free market regulatory policies reflects the increasing dominance of exchange value over use value within the modern urban rust belt city (Bedore 2010). Notably, this does not serve the impoverished communities of color that have been most affected by the changing political ecology of the city.

Intersection of Race and Food

The intersection of food and race in the American city is marked by these continuing histories of institutionalized inequality. However, where geographies of race, poverty, and hunger are situated in a postindustrial context, mediated by both capitalist restructuring and the inattention of urban planners, racialized inequalities become increasingly bifurcated and yet are simultaneously kept invisible (Ducre 2012). Provisioning of food is more concealed in the postindustrial urban context for a number of reasons; planners tend to concentrate first and foremost on the physical and land use aspects of

planning. Other priorities in the planning field, such as economic development and social planning, growth and real estate development, urban public transportation and road systems, housing and historic preservation, and environmental planning do not give adequate and direct attention to how food enters into and circulates within the urban context (Catanese & Snyder 1988; Chapin 1972; Levy 1988; So & Getzels 1988). Because food systems planning is conspicuously absent from the list, the character and reach of the urban food system is relegated to market forces. Critics of neoliberal policies and ideologies rarely address food or food systems, complicit with the inattention of urban planners to food systems, and further allowing elements of food system planning to be folded into the broader categories of commercial development, or transportation and housing issues within the city. Without an intentional food system analysis or reprioritizing food as an essential need amongst individuals and households, the development and location of grocery stores and markets is folded into the more general category of commercial real estate and subsumed under the dominance of the free market system (Pothukuchi & Kaufman 2000). Market forces that regulate commercial retail development in cities thus also regulate where and how people shop and eat. As I discuss in the previous chapter, less affluent areas, disproportionately neighborhoods of color, do not attract the same level of commercial development as wealthier areas of the city. The geographical segregation of Black, Latino, and other minoritized populations in cities mirrors socioeconomic differences and health disparities, such that racial minorities suffer disproportionately from poor health and food insecurity. Socio-economically disadvantaged urban neighborhoods – largely composed of people of color – do not have consistent access to healthy, affordable, socially and culturally acceptable foods.

Evidence that the modern food system does not equitably serve all people within urban areas can be found in the lived experiences of people of color illustrating their lack of access to sources of affordable and healthy food[7] such as grocery stores or other retails markets and farmer's markets (Eisenhauer 2001; McClintock 2011; Pulido 2000), the difficulties in subsisting on and accessing SNAP (Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, formerly food stamps or EBT) benefits or other

[7] These keywords describing access to food – reliable, affordable, healthy – are all important parts of the definition of food security as provided by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO 1996). Many other organizations, especially ones that have a justice lens to their work, include "culturally appropriate" in their definition.

government programs (Borjas 2002; Poppendieck 1998), price differentials between suburban grocery stores and urban grocery stores or other food markets, and the list goes on. In predominantly poor Black or Hispanic neighborhoods, convenience stores and liquor stores are much more prevalent than in more predominantly white urban neighborhoods (Eisenhauer 2006; Massey & Denton 1993; Lane et al. 2008). The unevenness in food system development and the ways that it serves people can also be seen through rates and levels of food security and reliance on largely-insufficient government programs. Black people across the United States experience much higher rates of food insecurity (25% compared to 14% amongst white Americans) and almost 35% of Black children live in families that are at least periodically food insecure (Bread for the World 2011). Food insecurity is cyclical and sometimes short-lived; most government surveys document whether a person has experienced food insecurity over the last several months. However, the fact that Black Americans also suffer more from serious and protracted food insecurity relative to white populations points to more structural problems in consistent access to food. Blacks and people of color rely disproportionately on emergency food services related to poverty alleviation such as the WIC program and SNAP, and are disproportionately represented as clients of food pantries, soup kitchens, and free lunch programs in schools (U.S. Department of Education 2008).

Because of citing practices, deficits in public transportation, and a higher percentage of households without access to a vehicle, comprehensive grocery stores can be more difficult to access for low-income people living in poor sections of town. Grocery stores situated in more impoverished neighborhoods often charge higher prices than the same chain does elsewhere in the city (Lane et al. 2008; Eisenhauer 2001; Treuhaft & Karpyn 2010), and they are at a greater risk of relocation or closure. The four supermarkets that closed in Syracuse in the 1970s have not yet been replaced, while majority Black neighborhoods such as the South Side and the North Side have had to deal with the recurring loss of and general lack of grocery stores in their neighborhood (Milliron 2012; Murphy 2009; O'Toole 2012; Spitz 2012). Partly as a result of this, Black Americans experience food insecurity at more than twice the rate of whites, are more likely to suffer from diet-based disease and health problems, and are more likely to experience protracted periods of food insecurity rather than short-term food insecurity more prominent amongst white Americans (Coleman-Jenson 2010).

Recent attention to food insecurity and the problems of continually rising food prices amongst certain politicians, community organizations, and think tanks, has not significantly altered the forward trajectory of the industrial capitalist food system that is complicit in the reproduction of food insecurity among low income communities and communities of color. Agricultural policy has by and large remained under the purview of rural politics (Pothukuchi & Kaufman 2000). Urban agriculture has only recently been examined as a potential (if partial) solution to food provisioning in urban areas rather than solely as a resilience strategy performed by the most marginalized of urban residents (De Zeeuw et al. 2011; Kaufman & Bailkey 2000). However, urban agriculture policies such as zoning regulations and policies geared toward the sale of produce, such as what has happened in Chicago, Oakland, Toronto, and other North American cities, are generally geared toward production for a wealthier contingent of the population as part of an alternative food movement rather than as a substitute or complement for grocery stores and retail markets. For example, if urban households are permitted poultry husbandry solely for the production of eggs, this fills a very specific market demand, perhaps for heirloom or heritage verities of chicken or duck eggs, rather than a household demand for meat, which would more directly and efficiently improve household food insecurity. Similarly, in Chicago, recent urban agriculture zoning laws have codified the size and dispersal of production lots, the amount of compost a single plot is allowed to produce, as well as what can and cannot be used in generating compost (City of Chicago 2013). Regulations prohibit the use of any material brought onto the urban farm from elsewhere in the production of compost, which presents obstacles to urban farmers who are using these lots as subsistence farms and are relying on compost made at home or within the community as an essential input to vegetable production (City of Chicago 2013). Limiting compost materials to on-site refuse means that food scraps from the home or from within the community cannot be used, and regulating the quantity of compost that can be produced on each site limits the sale or donation of compost to community members who might use it in their own yards.

The neoliberal political and ideological backdrop of Syracuse, NY – and most other postindustrial cities – plays an important role in influencing urban food systems, alternative food practices, and the subjectivities undergirding everyday belief structures related to food such as poverty, unemployment,

community structures and welfare. In a context of postindustrial revitalization, the decisions made about such issues deeply affect the structure of food systems, and disproportionately impact low-income communities of color. University personnel, city government, and city council members in Syracuse are involved in many of the key decisions about where urban gardens are located, and how they operate. Funding for urban farming projects and mobile markets often stem from donors that advance an ideology of entrepreneurship, which then influences price structures, targeted members and customers, and the urban geographies that are served. Entrepreneurial ideologies encourage self-sufficiency and fiscal independence for small-scale urban farms and mobile markets, creating the need for higher prices and a wealthier customer base. Communities and individuals who are the most in need of alternative sources of produce are also those who often cannot afford to pay more for their food.

Neoliberal market structures align with and encourage ethics of individualism, efficiency, and personal responsibility among citizens, thereby denigrating a person's reliance on welfare, emergency food supplies, social services such as unemployment, or SNAP benefits[8] (Lawson et al. 2008). Although reliance on these services does not provide adequate food or money to live on in most places, those who benefit from social welfare programs are framed as dependent, delinquent, and irresponsible. In effect, individuals are made responsible for their own well-being in the context of conditions that remain largely out of their control. These framings also highlight the contradictions of a neoliberal capitalist system that eliminates or reduces its ability to care for those affected by structural changes, economic restructuring, or the inequalities inherent to that system. Coupled with politics favoring privatization and market-based solutions to social problems, neoliberal subjectivities privileging self-sufficiency have filtered into the ways that governments, non-profit organizations, and a large number of 'alternative' food movement organizations view both the problems with and potential solutions to inequities and unevenness in the modern urban food system. As a result of neoliberal ideological formations, the un- or underemployed and the urban poor are blamed for their condition (which presumably includes a more holistic set of factors including employment, education, mobility and etc.),

[8] The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, referred to as SNAP, has also been known as food stamps or EBT, or Electronic Benefit Transfer.

instead of the planning paradigm and its power base, depicting institutionalized and structural inequalities as a personal fault and not a systemic problem. Additionally, many alternative food movements utilize a similar rhetoric of individual choice and market-based alternatives, turning to reformative measures of policy change, rather than more progressive or radical approaches to transforming the modern industrial food system. The discourses surrounding people in need of government or social aid help to further instill neoliberal ideologies lauding a certain type of (capitalist) consumer while simultaneously condemning other kinds of consumption as "excessive" or "irresponsible" (Wilson 2007). Food pantries, soup kitchens, and welfare disbursements are all examples of irresponsible reliance on services, and the 'excessive' consumption of the urban poor.

On Food and Injustice: Neoliberalization and the Charity Sector

Widespread reliance on emergency food provisioning services stems from both the deinstitutionalization of food and hunger solutions with the defunding of state-run social services and the invisibility of the food system on the agenda of urban planners and municipal agencies; but it is also indicative of how food has been neglected among other rights guaranteed by the state. Political and ideological conceptions about the assurance of individual rights, what specifically these rights entail – that is, where individual or community entitlements lie – are deeply contested questions. The need for emergency food provisioning services due to the rolling back of government social programs in the face of protracted and deepening poverty is evidence, in the United States, that food security is not considered a universal human right. Conversely, in a presentation to the United Nations General Assembly, Special Rapporteur Olivier de Schutter outlines very specifically the role of the state in guaranteeing the right to food, which, according to de Schutter, is a right that all people have to "the nutritional elements a person needs to lead a healthy and active life, as well as (the right to) the means to access them"[9] (De Schutter 2012: 4).

The fact remains that despite so-called hunger solutions, many of the people served – and among those a disproportionate number of people of color – remain in a state of protracted hunger and food

[9] The original text: "…un droit global à un régime alimentaire adéquat fournissant tous les elements nutritifs dont une personne a besoin pour mener une vie saine et active, ainsi qu'au moyen permettant d'accéder à ces éléments."

insecurity (Bread for the World 2011; Shields 1995). The stark decline in New York State welfare recipients that accompanied the rolling back of other services has increased reliance on the charity sector for emergency food services, while poverty has not declined and simultaneously remains extremely racialized (Welfare Reform Policy 2004). In New York State each week, more than 900,000 people resort to emergency food programs to feed themselves and their families; over 34 percent of these people are Black Americans, and over 25 percent are Hispanic (Dunlea et al. 2005). The disproportionately high use of emergency food programs by people of color in New York points to the need to critically examine why the food system is failing communities of color, and how the 'solutions' many people of color rely upon might actually be doing them a disservice. By relying on charitable or privately run organizations to mitigate the effects of food insecurity and hunger, food insecure populations are at the economic mercy of individual donations, corporate grants and volunteer labor hours, which places an already vulnerably population further at risk. Nutritionally, the foods donated to emergency food programs are generally low in quality and nutritional value: the discarded foods from someone's pantry and subsidized agricultural commodities produced in excess by farmers and sold to federal emergency food provisioning programs make up the majority of foods available at pantries and soup kitchens (Dunlea et al. 2005); very rarely are fresh foods donated, and many services don't have the infrastructure to handle fruits or vegetables. Food provisioning services are also affected by both cyclical abundance and deficiencies in supply; the majority of food donations occur between Thanksgiving and Christmas, while there is often a shortage of food and volunteer labor hours during the summer (Poppendieck 1998; Mitchell & Johnson 2004). A recent collaborative community geography project done in conjunction with Syracuse University and at the request of community hunger organizations in Syracuse worked to map how geographies of poverty and hunger had shifted in the city of Syracuse. Illustrating how large populations of people are not consistently served by either government services or the charity sector, the Hunger Project highlighted the insufficient resources food pantries have to provide food services to the chronically or cyclically hungry, and showed that SNAP benefits do not reach nearly the number of people that are eligible to receive them (Mitchell & Johnson 2004). Although the project has inspired further community-university collaboration on ending hunger in Syracuse and has catalyzed greater cooperation between emergency

hunger programs within the city (Mitchell & Johnson 2004), perhaps its greatest contribution was to highlight the inability of emergency food provisioning alone to end urban hunger.

Referring to Heynen's distinction between needs and desires (cf. Chapter 1; 2006: 130), it is notable that when a social or political problem is framed as food insecurity or hunger, a solution-oriented approach is often focused on feeding people, rather than on altering the structures that produce hunger and food insecurity. Looking at food system inequities through the lens of food insecurity or hunger alone demonstrates problem closure (Guthman 2011) in that the proposed solutions address material needs, thus sidelining cultural, social, or even health-based desires. Emergency food provisioning services problematize an individual's deficit of calories or food as hunger, and address the problem – thus framed – through a series of mechanisms designed to provide caloric sustenance. Hunger solutions such as emergency food provisioning, government welfare programs, and school feeding programs address symptoms of inequities in the food system, namely hunger, without questioning the root causes of food-based inequities[10].

(Re)institutionalized approaches to addressing hunger and food insecurity exist as a part of both the shrunken state and the private sector, yet neither sector alone is sufficient to change the structural inequalities in the urban food system that have perpetuated racialized hunger and food insecurity. Women, children, and people of color are drastically overrepresented amongst those who frequent soup kitchens and food pantries; according to a survey taken by Second Harvest in 1993, Black Americans constituted over a third of food pantry users and over forty percent of soup kitchen users (Dunlea et al. 2005; Poppendieck 1998: 51). By not addressing the root causes of poverty and hunger, both the state and the private and charity sectors are inadvertently maintaining and deepening those inequalities that disproportionately affect an already vulnerable contingent of the population. Contrary to the existing customary form, emergency food services have not always been solely a palliative to the inability of the food system to equitably serve all people. Part of the history of emergency food

[10] I am not discounting the work of many kind-hearted and charitable people, who are doing good and honorable work within a broken system that they often have little power to change. The labor hours of volunteers and the donations of many people have contributed to providing thousands of meals for people who would otherwise go hungry.

programming is founded upon the Black Panther Party's (BPP) Free Breakfast for Children Program, which began in 1968 and eventually became a model for the federal government to follow in the implementation of widespread school feeding programs (Heynen 2009: 411). The BPP recognized the connections between hunger and underperformance in young children, and the power of food to stimulate specific forms of social reproduction. Heynen writes that Black children, specifically, who are consistently hungry "have been organized into their poverty" (2009: 407), but this idea is equally applicable to Black mothers, fathers, workers, and the elderly. The Free Breakfast for Children Program, originally established out of a church in one of the most oppressively poverty-stricken areas in Oakland, California, was intended to not only feed people, but to give them the "strength to bend the bars that imprisoned them" (Heynen 2009: 407). The physiological effect of hunger on a person, hampering their memory and ability to work, causing distraction and physical pain, has been shown to decrease the performance of hungry children in schools (Taras 2005; Hunger in the Classroom 2012). The program thus strove to reproduce strength and resilience within the community through a breakfast consisting of nutritional foods that followed cultural and social norms. It also worked to counter the idea that (nutritious) food is a privilege of those with the means to purchase it, rather than a right for all people regardless of socio-economic status, race or gender. The BPP saw a way in which they could not only feed people, addressing the biological need for food, but could also empower people by subverting of the capitalist paradigm whereby hunger is framed as "fair" (Engels 1881).

The Free Breakfast Program of the Black Panther Party was embedded within an organizational frame whose larger aims were to transform and subvert the inherent inequality not only in access to food, but in the broader political economic context of the modern food system. Huey Newton, one of the original founders of the Black Panther Party, recognized the contradictions embedded in emergency food solutions; he said, "All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems" (Newton, quoted in Patel 2012: 2). He called this "survival pending revolution". Emergency feeding programs today are not based on the same cultural and social framework of empowerment, education, and poverty eradication; rather they work to make up for broader structural insufficiencies while neglecting the root causes of hunger and food insecurity. For the modern iteration of emergency food programs, there is no revolution in sight. Without addressing

the problem as historically systemic and institutionalized, and looking critically at the race- and class-based inequities of the modern food system, the charity sector today is no more reliable or sustainable a solution than government social programs; both share the narrow objective of addressing need-based, emergency hunger, whether it is short term, cyclical, or protracted in nature. Increased reliance on the charity sector 'shadow state' has become more deeply embedded in both the structure of urban food systems and in the ideologies undergirding distribution of food to the poor.

Emergency hunger programs, whether welfare or charity, generally undermine culturally or socially significant identifiers for desires for food, reducing consumption to a utilitarian, needs-oriented process that takes "desire" – and the particularities of racially- or ethnically-based foodways – out of the equation. People become part of a needs-based calculation of food and hunger, and resources are allocated through channels that don't have the capacity to focus on social or cultural factors, but focus on caloric needs. Desire is illegitimated in this context as a result of broader conceptions rooted in a series of neoliberal ideologies that have permeated everyday subjectivities. Food insecure people are seen as responsible for the inability to provide for themselves or their families and thus disallowed from socio-cultural or personal food-based desires; in other words, beggars cannot be choosers. The state is increasingly excused from providing for these needs or desires through an ideological belief in the primacy of the market and market mechanisms to correct for failures. Similarly to the discourse surrounding the Black ghetto, the food insecure are framed as "neither autonomous, responsible citizens, nor effective, productive neoliberal subjects" (Del Casino & Jocoy 2008: 194).

The fundamentally shameful framing of hunger in the city obfuscates the social and structural processes through which this hunger is created and maintained. People are blamed and made responsible for problems they neither created nor perpetuate. As Patricia Allen notes, "(t)here will always be people who need food assistance as long as there is underemployment, unemployment, poverty-level wages, and inadequate pensions, and access to food is based on ability to pay" (1999: 126). By relying on private sector or non-profit structures for solutions, many of the community oriented and community driven efforts to ameliorate or solve problems of hunger, inequity, and injustice do work to further displace responsibility from the state, deepening the embeddedness of a

free market capitalist structure, and reinforcing neoliberal ideologies of self-reliance, individualism, and personal responsibility. Thus, the privatization of hunger solutions reinforces neoliberal subjectivities in two important ways. Emergency food organizations that take responsibility for the gaps left by a shrinking state are essentially correcting for the excesses of capitalism and the failure of a neoliberal free market system (Alkon & Mares 2012: 349). In so doing, they legitimize the retreat of the state from fulfilling those roles, normalizing charity work as falling under the purview of private citizens rather than governmental agencies or public dollars. Secondly, and in a more nuanced way, where individualism and self-sufficiency are valued above an ethic of community support and reliance on government programs, food insecure people come to represent the supposed failure of individuals (rather than the failure of the system). They provide subtle but persistent encouragement for communities to further take matters into their own hands through the establishment of alternative food movements which might ensure at least a degree of control over the content and provenance of the food they are eating.

Conclusion: hunger as "fair" and unemployment as optional

Friedrich Engels, in the late nineteenth century, described the waged laborer as "fearfully handicapped by hunger", because she has only her wages to live upon and "must therefore take work when, where, and at what terms (s)he can get it" (Engels 1881). Conversely, he explained, the capitalist has a jump-start. As a result of continued accumulation of capital and exploitation of surplus labor, the capitalist does not live in fear of hunger and is not concerned with how the worker will procure her next meal, only that the work is done in such a way as to maximize profits for continued and expanded production. From the vantage point of capitalist production, therefore, hunger is "fair", because labor provides the wages necessary for the reproduction of the working class, including for the purchase of food. Further, through the lens of neoliberal ideologies whereby unemployment is a voluntary condition (Harvey 2010), hunger and access to food are within the control (and according to the priorities) of each individual. Reinforcing this standpoint, in recent deliberations over the reauthorization of the Farm Bill, House Representative Stephen Fincher of Tennessee cited the New Testament, declaring, "The one who is unwilling to work shall not eat" (quoted in Krugman 2012), as an argument for why the Farm Bill should not include allocations for SNAP benefits. Elaine Browne,

former chairperson of the Black Panther Party, counters this concept: "Because we are so used to the capitalist construct, it doesn't occur to us that we have a human right to eat". Under the capitalist paradigm, Browne argues that because "there is a price tag to eating, then there is a price on your head" (quoted in Heynen 2009: 411). The neoliberal capitalist planning paradigm has organized a disproportionate number of people and families of color into their poverty and food insecurity (Heynen 2009), ensuring the protracted nature of poverty through market-based mechanisms for food production, distribution, and consumption as well as by simultaneous maintaining a "structural" unemployment on the job market. In order to challenge and transform that system it is important to have a deep understanding of who the system is serving and not serving, how such an inequitable construct exists largely unchallenged, and the ways in which food movement do and do not challenge the current planning paradigm. As I will discuss in the next chapter, despite efforts to provide a viable alternative to the inefficiencies and inequalities in the conventional industrial food system, many alternatives perpetuate racialized and class-based inequities. Through structural and organizing principles, a significant number of alternative food practices reinforce market-based solutions and ideologies as well as neoliberal subjectivities of individual responsibility and self-sufficiency in the face of a deficient state or a flawed conventional food system. Conversely, the idea that one has a right to food, rather than a right to *earn* their food is reflected in the ideologies and objectives of the food justice movement, which attempts to dismantle racism and oppression within the food system (Alkon & Agyemon 2011), and to subvert the neoliberal planning paradigm that renders the provisioning of food invisible, placing it under the purview of the self-regulating market as the responsibility of individual citizen-subjects. Food justice activism has the potential to challenge the discourse of whiteness as neutral and universal, at the same time that it renders visible the many spatial and institutional injustices in the urban food system, thereby making food provisioning in general more visible within an urban context. The ideologies behind food justice are by no means a solution to neoliberalization and the weakening of social and public services. Rather they provide the opportunity to formulate new understandings of the roles and interactions of community and state actors, and the potential to create the space both for developing community resilience and for catalyzing shifts in food systems planning.

IV: On Food and Justice

Introduction: Why the conventional food system is failing communities of color

Cities have historically relied on resources from rural areas, including, among others, food and labor. Without the massive influx of labor from the American South during the Great Migration, the scope and scale of American industrialization would not have been possible. Likewise, the mechanization of agriculture, which led to increases in efficiency and output of agricultural production has allowed a greater proportion of Americans to live in urban areas, dependant on the remaining farms and farmworkers in rural areas to produce sufficient surpluses of food[11]. But agricultural mechanization also reduced the amount of necessary production labor on farms, which effectively pushed farmworkers off of the land, and many into urban areas. Industrialization in northern cities depended upon the displacement of agricultural labor from the south, and flourished particularly on the displacement of Black southerners from agricultural land. The neoliberal paradigm assumes that the self-regulating market will ensure that this production/consumption structure continues, that the existence of cities will be facilitated by production excesses of agricultural land and labor within rural areas, and that the excesses within cities – in the form of the unemployed, low-income, or lower-class – will in turn be corrected and disciplined through market-based solutions to hunger, poverty, and unemployment. Yet historically, the 'invisible hand' of the market, left responsible for the provisioning of food in cities (from rural areas both domestically and, more recently, especially internationally), has resulted in a food system that is uneven, inequitable, and in many instances, faltering. That is, when food system planning is shaped almost exclusively by market mechanisms, it will follow all of the unevenness already present in the urban environment (Eisenhauer 2001; Pothukuchi & Kaufmann 2000). The need for emergency food provisioning services that coincided, in the early 1980s, with the rolling out of neoliberal regulatory projects, has become a permanent intervention for and indication of continuing market failures (Poppendieck 1998). However, neither food banks nor soup kitchens represent effective or sustainable mechanisms of food system planning. Intentionally planned urban

[11] This depiction of the relationship between cities and the countryside has, in recent decades, been complicated by the increasing internationalization of food supply chains. The import-export market of food in the United States has rendered this depiction even more dramatic; with the continuing loss of farmland and fewer American farmers, large metropolises are enabled, in part, by the less expensive production of food in developing countries.

food systems in the rust belt should be representative of permanent shifts in urban populations, to serve a smaller, lower-income, more predominantly of color population. In most cities across the rust belt, this agenda is underrepresented amongst planners, government officials, and many alternative food organizations alike.

The traditional urban planning paradigm grounds itself in neoliberal economic theory in two ways that are important to the structure and evolution of the urban food system. First, assumptions about the efficacy of the self-regulating market to provide food retail outlets for city inhabitants has led to a food system where wealthier neighborhoods have an excess of food options and poorer neighborhoods and neighborhoods of color are largely provisioned by convenience stores and corner markets, where prices are higher and the variety and quality of products lower (Chung & Myers 1999; Treuhaft & Karpyn 2010). Because the food system has generally followed a capitalist development paradigm whereby agricultural production is treated as any other economic activity and food is traded as a commodity (Renting 2012), it will also display the geographical, socio-economic, and racial unevenness of capitalist growth. Second, where market-based strategies have failed and social programs such as welfare and food stamps are difficult to access and insufficient in scope, neoliberalization has encouraged the privatization of both emergency food-provisioning services as well as of alternatives to the conventional food system (Guthman 2008a; Alkon & Norgaard 2009; Alkon & Mares 2012). Privately run non-profits or charity organizations have become institutionalized as a palliative to the inequities of the capitalist food system, while the market-based alternative food movement generally targets a wealthier consumer base that is able to afford more expensive food options.

As I have tried to show in chapter 1, an historical-geographical understanding of how both urban hunger and alternative food practices have become incredibly racialized helps to highlight the broader and multi-scalar processes of food system inequities, and how geographies of people, capital, and political will inform the interrelationship of space, place, power, and identity. The deepening of both racialized space (Ducre 2012; Wilson 2007) and geographical inequities in the rust belt, together with the shifting political ecology of food against the terrain of neoliberal restructuring, highlights how current attempts to feed hungry people works to reproduce existing hegemonic structures (Sbicca

2010; Guthman 2008a). The context of deindustrialization and neoliberal restructuring underscores how the modern corporate food system and many alternative food practices are structured to serve the needs of growing capital accumulation, refracting neoliberal ideologies of individualism, entrepreneurialism, and personal responsibilities through a social lens. Given the rate of hunger and food insecurity in the United States, where a full sixth of the population is food insecure (Holt-Giménez & Wang 2012), in cities where this rate is even higher, and among communities of color where the rate is almost twice that of white Americans (Bread for the World 2011) calls for improving equity in the food system have multiplied over the last three decades, taking varied and sometimes contradictory approaches.

Alternative Food Movements and the Need for "Alternatives to the Alternative"

Recognizing the existence of inequity means that both privilege and disadvantage exist side-by-side. Class privilege and white privilege, as they are reflected through the food system, manifest in many ways, not only in the citing and location of grocery stores and food retail markets, but also in the structure and geography of alternatives to the conventional industrial food system. Many alternative food practices have come to represent ways in which individuals and communities can make educated choices about their food consumption, through the market availability of pathways to purchase food that circumvents the conventional corporate food system. These alternative food practices, exemplified by Michael Pollan's suggestion to consumers to "vote with your fork" (2006), are exclusionary in their essence, foreclosing on equitable participation in predominant alternatives to the food system. His claim that "not everyone can afford to eat high-quality food in America…however, those of us who can, should" (Pollan 2010: 184) masks the fact that "today's food system, with its uneven neoliberalizations, continues to contribute to…structural inequality" (Guthman 2009). It is assumed that through the availability of new and different products – local and seasonal produce, small-batch and handmade dairy products, grass-fed meats – made available through alternative market structures – farmer's markets and Community Supported Agriculture, direct sourcing, farm-to-institution initiatives – the desire for conventional food products will wane. The "underlying theory of change", as Allen and Guthman (2006: 411) contend, is that through shifts in the supply of foods and alternative

market options, shifts in consumer demand will follow accordingly as consumers realize the benefits of these alternative markets and begin to "vote with their forks".

Market-oriented alternative food practices thus aid in the development of a specific kind of consumer: one with knowledge of and access to various markets who will therefore participate in a specific kind of social change, rooted not in collective struggle or community action, but in the cultivation of "individual will" (Allen & Guthman 2006: 412). Because many alternative food practices subscribe to the same basic market-based mechanisms as the corporate food system, they are vulnerable to pressures of expanding entrepreneurialism, continual growth, and increasing profitability, which limits the contingent of the population eligible to participate as consumers. Many alternative food practices – perhaps unintentionally – also discriminate geographically, socio-economically, and racially, by following similar patterns of uneven commercial and residential development, in citing practices, the spaces they occupy, and through various marketing strategies. By reinforcing market choice (and a subsequently cultivated consumer) as a guiding mechanism for food system change, this particular alternative food movement participates in the perpetuation and deepening of socioeconomic and racial inequalities in their constituency.

Alternative food markets provide a good mirror for closer examination of how neoliberalism is reproduced through the formation and reification of neoliberal subjects while, simultaneously, favoring and advantaging middle-class white communities and "whiteness" as the dominant (food) narrative. Holt-Giménez notes that the "dominant food narrative" in alternative food movements is one that privileges "quality, environmental sustainability, and safety of food (e.g., fresh, organic, local) as well as…environmental values and community relationships associated with halcyon days of a reconstructed agrarian past" (2012: 85). Narratives such as these have attracted significant media attention, becoming an integral part of the food culture of many affluent and particularly white communities in the United States. Alternative food movements such as Slow Food USA have been called exclusive and elitist because of their attachment to local and organic foods which are often more expensive and exclusionary of lower-income consumers (Sbicca 2012: 455; Dunlea et al. 2004). Ramirez (2011) and Guthman (2008) stress that the privileging of one "right" way of eating necessarily

indicates that there is also a "wrong" way to eat, usually identified as eating industrially produced and processed, non-organic, or non-local foods. In a recent volume on food justice and the cultures and politics of food, Alkon and Agyemon (2011: 10) state that "(f)ood informs individuals' identities, including their racial identities". They argue, similarly to Heynen (2006) that food is more than simply a "physiological necessity" – a need – rather it is embedded in culturally and historically important manifestations of identity and of belonging. Through the reification of a dominant (and universal) food narrative and in the wake of this raced conception of what it means to eat "good food", the food stories and histories of communities of color – Black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, immigrant communities, and otherwise – are either maligned or rendered invisible. Urban food environments, where many alternative food practices are concentrated, are also places where poverty and hunger manifest more harshly and more deeply in communities of color; cities thus provide the ideal backdrop for addressing and contesting whiteness as universal and dominant in the alternative food movement and in the conventional food system as a way towards the creation of a just urban food system.

The contested discourses around soul food provide an example of how whiteness has become pervasive in the ways that food and eating are framed, as well as how "other" foodways have been simultaneously commodified and demonized. Discussions about whether soul food is healthy or harmful to the Black American community coalesce and exist simultaneously with historical-cultural debates over whether soul food represents the strength and resilience of the ancestors of Black slaves, or their historical and continued oppression (Hurt 2012). This is a narrative fraught with contradictions: many fast food outlets such as KFC and Popeye's have adopted a commercialized and commoditized version of soul food heavily marketed to Black Americans, while popular discourse paints these food practices as unhealthy and irresponsible. Thus, consumption of soul food becomes increasingly filtered through the lens of its commercialized (and much less healthy) versions, negating and erasing histories of Black home cuisine, the cultivation of kitchen gardens, the use of all parts of an animal to produce food, and the cultural resilience that soul food represents. Hurt (2012) contends that it is not soul food, in particular, that is harming the Black community, but rather the widespread influence that the industrial corporate food system has had on food practices. For example, processed and industrial foods that are generally less expensive but that tend to have a higher fat, sugar, and salt

content, become attractive to low-income people for financial reasons, and are marketed heavily at low-income communities of color (Raja et al. 2008). The argument is not that soul food is particularly healthy – although Hurt does make the case that soul food can be prepared in much more healthy and nutritious ways – but that it has become one of the many scapegoats for the health concerns within the Black community. Soul food has become a way to hold individuals responsible while structural and institutional inequalities in Black neighborhoods and communities remain invisible.

Similarly, indigenous foodways and land stewardship practices are often maligned, and frequently collide with environmental conservation practices established by the state. In Northern California, the Karuk tribe and other indigenous populations are no longer allowed to participate in food practices that are historically integral to their socio-cultural traditions and foodways (Alkon & Norgaard 2009; Norgaard et al. 2011). While the Karuk tribe used to implement sophisticated land and river management practices, this has been continuously derailed since the arrival of European settlers in about 1850 (Norgaard et al. 2011). Through a series of racial projects (Winant 1991) that continue to this day, the Karuk have lost rights to the land that was once theirs, while the state has implemented forest and water management strategies that directly conflict both with the foodways of the Karuk people and the effective management of their resources, having rendered many of their food and land management practices illegal (Norgaard et al. 2011: 37). By damming the Klamuth River, which flows through the Karuk territory, commercial water practices have seriously degraded water quality; standing water acts as a breeding ground for blue-green algae blooms, and toxin levels have increased dramatically. Salmon are unable to pass the dams to reach the spawning areas of the river, which has greatly decreased the numbers of salmon available for consumption (Alkon & Norgaard 2009: 297). As a direct result of both environmental legislation and commercial water and land management practices that have resulted in serious environmental degradation, the Karuk have become "among the hungriest and poorest people of the state" (Norgaard et al. 2011: 37). They have been forced to assimilate to a diet consisting mostly of processed and industrially produced foods, with serious health and cultural implications for what once was one of the wealthiest tribes of Native peoples in California.

In different ways, both of these examples serve to show how non-white food practices are both marginalized and disallowed, in favor of food practices deemed as "good", "healthy", and "ethical", marked as normative and universal, and performed by a generally white subset of the population.

Contesting Whiteness and Exclusion in the Alternative Food Movement

Critical race theory looks at the margin as a starting point for analysis of how "the other" has become marginalized from political participation (Hall 1997) and excluded from decision-making processes. In a very literal sense, poor Black communities have become decentered from the everyday gaze of more affluent communities and from access to the same resources as wealthier (white) communities. There are very literal implications to what it means to be a marginalized community in cities where segregation, physical barriers, and a lack of adequate urban infrastructure relegates Black communities and other communities of color to the geographical urban margins. Geographical exclusion from equitable access to all physical parts of the city is part and parcel of the segregation that Black people have faced for over a century (Wilson 2007) and is also related to how Black bodies move through predominantly white spaces and have been excluded from equitable participation in many alternative food movements (Slocum 2007; Alkon & Norgaard 2009).

Slocum argues that many alternative food spaces have become spaces of whiteness, in part through the fetishization of dietary obsessions such as "fresh, local, sustainable…non-processed, whole grain, small-scale or organic" and a preoccupation with attaining the "thinner body that such a diet could produce" (2007: 526). She contends, however, that whiteness and white space are not defined by the absence of Black bodies, but rather by "*what whites do* in these places" (2007: 521, emphasis in original). In discussing how Black bodies move through predominantly white food spaces, Saldanha notes the tendency of white bodies to stick together in alternative food spaces, achieving "dominance through the …discursive exclusion of 'the Other'" (2006: 11). Discourses that exoticize and "other" soul food or various cultural foodways; the rejection of indigenous food practices; the fetishization of specific body types; and the emphasis on individual choice and market-based alternatives are exclusionary practices that, while not always intentional, have made many alternative food movements spaces of whiteness. Although Slocum accounts for the intermixing of Black and white bodies within alternative food

spaces, she points out that whiteness remains hegemonic in the United States and, "regardless of the number of bodies in a certain place" alternative food movements have come to be dominated not only by white bodies, but also by whiteness.

Many alternative food spaces exist as sites of exclusion because of price structure, choice of products, location and accessibility, or because of perceptions of who does and does not belong there (Alkon & Mares 2012; Alkon & Norgaard 2009; Guthman 2008a). And yet, attention is increasingly being brought to the intersection of food and race, to histories of discrimination against Black farmers and minority farm laborers, to the inequality embedded in environmental factors and industrial citing practices as it relates to food, and to a host of other class- and race-based injustices both within the dominant food system, and that manifest through food-based inequalities. More and more movements are aligning with the ideals of the Black Panther Party, working against racialized inequities and for community-based solidarity and positive social reproduction. Politically oriented anti-racist food practices fighting against oppression and inequality in all facets of the food system were not born out of a desire for a thinner body or the social and cultural capital that accompanies eating local, organic, or heirloom varieties of produce. Rather, these movements – collectively or individually oriented – have existed in the interstices of society as long as there have been oppressions and social injustices that limit a person's ability to provide for his or her family. Hurt (2012) highlights the importance of kitchen gardens in Black slave culture to compensate for the lack of necessary calories provided by slave masters. Kitchen gardens did not end with the emancipation of slaves; rather they have continued to bridge the gap between economic or geographical means and food needs. Kitchen gardens were especially prominent amongst poor families, and especially poor Black families in the postindustrial era. Jane Jacobs (1970) argues that cities and agriculture were certainly not mutually exclusive, but rather urban areas were born of increasing concentrations of laborers who brought agricultural skills with them into emerging cities as part of an economic survival strategy. As laborers are drawn from rural areas into an industrializing city, these skills are a useful survival tactic in a place that does not provide equitably for the food needs of low income and ghettoized neighborhoods. While the majority of Black migrants who came north in the Great Migration may have left behind or even rejected their (enslaved) agricultural heritage and cultures in favor of manufacturing and industrial jobs, it has

reemerged – once again as a resilience strategy in the interstices – among poor communities and in areas where there are few other options for procuring fresh and healthy foods.

Referring to the cultural past of many Black Americans, Oswald (2005: 406) evokes the idea that urban gardening is part of a process of "constructing/reconstructing southern black culture in the inner city", which inscribes the "attitudes and values of a social group…in public spaces", inherently contributing to a sense of community and solidarity. Just as soul food and kitchen gardens represented the resilience and cultural survival of slaves in the antebellum south (Hurt 2012), community-based solidarity around food and agriculture in post-industrial cities has become important for social reproduction in underserved and minoritized neighborhoods in parts of the rust belt. In Syracuse, Stamps and Stamps (2008) cite individual growing plots as part of a resilience strategy among low-income Black people living in inner city housing projects. By the 1970s, the south side of Syracuse had been separated from other neighborhoods in the city not only by socio-economic and racial barriers, but also by the physical barriers of two highways that draw almost perfect lines between impoverished neighborhoods and areas of affluence, between concentrated zones of industrial production and commercial and residential zones. Individual and collective means of combating this exclusion from participating in conventional or alternative food practices were and are limited; but Stamps and Stamps (2008) argue that the presence of multiple gardens in a housing project or a neighborhood works to creates a sense of community around gardening, healthy eating, and being outside, rather than participating fully in the unhealthy, or inconvenient and expensive food options available. It is a way for individuals within a community to reclaim physical space and to establish a place-based politics of solidarity. Resilience strategies such as kitchen gardens operate within the same ideological framework as the Black Panthers' Free Breakfast Program, empowering individuals to demonstrate agency in the social reproduction of their community.

DuPuis and Goodman (2005) have suggested that an emphasis on local food works to combat the 'placelessness' of global industrial agriculture, re-embedding normative ethics of agrarianism, labor, and environmental stewardship in a local context, grounded in place. While the social capital of localism and other individual market choices may have the power to shift market demand and supply,

local food as an alternative food practice does not necessarily guarantee ethical production or distribution processes, nor does it work toward food system equity along racial or class lines. Additionally, the social capital imbued in local food equating it with 'good' or 'healthy' food can undermine a focus on broader structural inequities of the food system as they are manifest at a local level (Block et al. 2012: 205). Conversely, the food justice activism of community gardens in low-income minority neighborhoods and especially in housing projects, the organized lobbying for a locally run grocery store, represent a sort of hyper-localism that not only reproduces an ethic of community resilience and a grounded sense of place, but also contests geographic, economic and racial marginalization, refusing to accept that hunger is "fair".

Food Justice and the Workings of an Anti-Racist Food Movement

Market-based solutions to the food system encouraging individual consumer choice based on specific attributes such as production location (localism) or production inputs (organics) are based on the premise that consumer demand has the power to shift patterns in food production and will also respond positively to the availability of local, seasonal, and organic food. Localism, organics, Slow Food, CSA, farm-to-table approaches: all of these food movements have been characterized as elitist and exclusionary, however, for a specific socio-economic class of the population they do have the potential to shift market availability of food and, by their very presence, to shift market demand. Individual actions concerning food can been conceptualized as an inchoate (food-based) social movement (Starr 2009), as decisions that demonstrate a collective political will, and as sites of consumption that are perhaps as important to achieving sustainability as sites of production (Cohen 2006). Most importantly, however, politicized activities surrounding food offer the potential to open up political space where marginalized communities can articulate their own politics.

As an articulation of politics and resistance, the food justice movement in the United States is influenced by the various food sovereignty movements that have gained significant traction among peasant communities in the global South. Food justice focuses on the lack of reliable access to affordable and healthy food, the social inequities in distribution, structural racisms throughout processes of production, distribution, and consumption, as well as questions of human and labor rights,

and inequitable gender and class structures reproduced through the food system (Holt-Giménez, Patel, & Shattuck 2009; Gottlieb & Joshi 2011; Alkon & Agyemon 2011). Whereas many food practices are concerned solely with providing additional market options, food justice-oriented activism fits within a right-to-food paradigm that no longer frames the urban poor as "undeserving" or as "irresponsible citizens" (Alkon & Norgaard 2009; Holt-Giménez & Shattuck 2011), but recognizes the inequitable structure of the food system as it is constructed through capitalism. Localism, organics, and the Slow Food movements fit within the "vote with your fork" paradigm, reproducing neoliberal subjectivities of individualism and self-sufficiency; conversely, food justice activism is generally rooted in community and calls for "effective democratic process(es), including the empowerment of those who are most vulnerable" in order to achieve "social justice within local food systems" (Allen 2010: 303). The kind of democracy Allen is referring to is "one in which the notion of the public good takes precedence", moving away from individually delimited rights (2010: 303). Food justice, therefore, has the ultimate obligation to evaluate labor standards, environmental outcomes, equitable distribution, and anti-racism in all aspects of the food system. Like in environmental justice activism, which has influenced the ideological grounding of food justice work, social justice is a constitutive part of the objectives of food justice activism, and aims to move beyond provisioning of food to include broader and deeper structural changes to poverty, city planning, neighborhood blight, etc. (Holt-Giménez 2010).

Some critics contend that contestation over citing practices and questions of geography often take precedence over historical and structural racisms within the environment. However, within the urban food system, citing practices and access to food are important issues that can galvanize support from disparate and varied coalitions of people within the urban setting; a focus on food access is an entryway to looking at how "issues of power, control, and inequality are written into the American landscape" (Block et al. 2012: 205). Food justice organizing, unlike other iterations of the alternative food movement, has great potential to act as an entry point for contesting structural and institutional inequities and racisms on many other levels, including housing and education, employment, and political participation. Citing practices and geographical access to food, services, and public urban space represent the link between environmental racism and food injustices as well as the formation of racialized spaces. Contesting inequitable access is a way to address and challenge the spatial

underprivilege of spaces of poverty and spaces of Blackness, and to challenge inequitable power structures embedded within racialized space. This paper (and the more effective iterations of the food justice movement) therefore focuses on how unequal social, political, and economic relations are produced and reproduced through the times-space dialectic and the ways in which anti-oppression and anti-racist activism challenge histories and geographies of oppression. Under the general heading of 'alternative food practices', food justice organizing works to transform food system inequities through anti-racist and anti-oppression work based on a right-to-food framework, so that all members of society, regardless of race, class, income, geographic location, or any other indicator, have consistent access to healthy and culturally appropriate food. In effect, food justice organizing – by opening the political space for contestation and equal participation – aims to meet both the needs and desires of a minoritized population.

According to Holt-Giménez and Wang (2012: 83), food justice lies "between reformist calls for food security and radical calls for food sovereignty", which gives it a strategic and influential political role in the food movement. Unlike the food sovereignty movements in the global South that have also taken hold in cities and regions across North America and Europe, food justice does not necessarily prioritize dismantling of the capitalist structure of the conventional food system, and is sometimes criticized for this more reformative approach. Notwithstanding, the agenda of food justice activism is particularly salient in the United State, where histories and legacies of protracted racialized inequalities and structural discrimination have established a power hierarchy between communities of color and white communities. In an urban context, food justice organizing exists and operates on the hegemonic terrain of a neoliberal and capitalist food system (Gramsci 1971). Food justice organizing, however, can contest power structures and the development of neoliberal citizen-subjects through organizing rooted in the formation of community resilience and solidarity, rather than individual responsibility. By working toward a new urban planning paradigm, emphasizing empowerment through farmworker and labor organizations as well as investment in underserved communities, food justice organizations are positioned to work as brokers between the state and the community. The way in which food justice activism is situated in the urban context as an arbiter of the political will of minoritized populations, and the relationships formed with broader municipal and governing structures, is partly what will

determine whether a collaborative approach succeeds in positive food provisioning outcomes and the structuring of an equitable and just urban food system (Holt-Giménez & Wang 2012). As a transformative push against structural and institutional inequities, and through progressive food justice activism, the movement has the potential to lay the groundwork for future, more radical change. Many scholars argue that certain forms of food justice activism risk reproducing neoliberalism through varied actions and responses (Alkon & Mares 2012; Allen & Guthman 2006; Guthman 2008b), and it is perhaps valid that any actions that do not attempt to dismantle neoliberalism are complicit in reproducing it. I would contend, however, that while food justice activism does not necessarily participate in the dismantling of neoliberal forms, it works toward an epistemic shift in the structuring of not only food systems, but also of planning processes writ large. Wekerle (2004: 379) states aptly that "Reframing food security as food justice is more than a name change" but must "focus on systemic change and the necessity of engaging in political and policy processes as well as consciously addressing issues of movement mobilization and strategies". A more nuanced understanding of how food justice activism operates in an era of dismantled public services and heightened emphasis on individualism and self-sufficiency helps to carve out space for activism that works for change from both above and below.

Shifts in Planning Practices: What Role for Food Justice?

In Belo Horizonte, Brazil in the early nineties, the local government began to approach food insecurity and hunger problems using a right-to-food framework (Lappé 2009). Whereas almost a fifth of the children were going hungry and over ten percent of people were living in absolute poverty, by declaring food to be a right of every person, the city administration created the opportunity for civil society to work together with the government to secure that right for all. Moore Lappé contends, "Hunger is not caused by a scarcity of food but a scarcity of democracy" (2009). In this city in Brazil, through participatory budgeting processes and other methods of collaborative planning, innovative policy measures were set up to create greater linkages between farmers and consumers and to make fresh produce available to the city's food insecure and impoverished population. The establishment of

public spaces for farmers to sell food, the creation of "ABC[12]" markets where certain produce items are sold at below market price, and the obligation for farmers to bring produce to the poor neighborhoods outside of the city to improve access for the city's poorest people are a few of the innovative approaches taken by the citizen-government planning process. Without relying on neoliberal ideologies of poor people as dependent, irresponsible or undeserving citizens, access to food for poor people improved drastically while farmers around Belo Horizonte saw their profits increase, despite the drastic decline in farming profits experienced across the rest of the country (Lappé 2009). Alternative planning strategies such as these introduce the possibility of more direct linkages between urban and rural areas that partially obviate the necessity of an intervening middleman, resulting in increased agency to both producers and consumers.

Tensions in the planning paradigm of many rust belt cities in the postindustrial era result not only from challenging widely held assumptions about a person's right to food and the efficacy of the market to provide adequate food to everyone, but from the self-organizing responses of community food security and food justice organizations. Such organizing represents the potential of a new planning paradigm to develop community resilience and empowerment while opposing neoliberalization. Many of the widely held assumptions about the relationship between the city and rural areas are adjusting to demographic and socio-economic shifts within and between the two. Urban reliance on rural production and provisioning is questioned and challenged in cities where the population base is not big enough, or wealthy enough to attract the same commercial investment by retail food outlets, and other resources stemming from rural areas. Community gardens, urban farming, and alternative food distribution mechanisms, as part of an activist response to food insecurity and injustices, challenge widely-held assumptions about what does and does not belong in the city, as well as the dependence of the city on rural production. At its height, the industrial city acted as a "container of capitalism" (Wilson 2007), a magnet for people, resources – including food, and capital investment; in the postindustrial city, that container has become leaky. For low-income people of color who are segregated into marginalized spaces and separated from development and growth efforts, place-based

[12] "ABC" comes from the Portuguese acronym for "food at low prices."

anti-oppression food justice activism works to reimagine the postindustrial rustbelt as a space of possibility.

Food Planning in Syracuse: Gardens, Grocery Stores, and Governance

Food justice in Syracuse is a nascent and yet growing movement; it is hard to know how it will develop in the coming months and years. But there are several indications of deepening community participation in the food decisions being made within the city as well as of an intentional food system planning effort. Community based action around urban gardening and farming, the establishment of new food retail outlets, and the formation of a food policy council within the city to help regulate and better plan the urban food system provide evidence of a shift in the planning paradigm around food within Syracuse. All of these actions stem at least partly from the political will of the Black community in Syracuse to exercise more agency in the decisions surrounding food and hunger, and to create a more healthy food environment in their community. While there are several alternative food practices in Syracuse that represent spaces of whiteness and exclusion; the following section highlights food activism in the city that mirrors the ideologies of an anti-racist food justice movement, outlining ways in which race, class, and governance structures intersect to influence the trajectory of this movement. In what follows, I will outline the activities of several food and/or hunger based organizations in Syracuse, including: the Hunger Project, a community geography collaborative project between Syracuse University and many community organizations; Syracuse Grows, a consortium of fourteen community gardens within the city; and the political action around grocery store establishment, including contestation over funding and types of collaboration. I also refer specifically to a few of the urban agriculture sites in Syracuse including the Southwest Community Farm and Karibu Gardens, as well as to community-municipal collaborations on the Syracuse Sustainability Plan and efforts to establish a Food Systems Council within the city of Syracuse.

At a time when emergency food provisioning services in Syracuse were reporting increased demand but no commensurate increase in organizational capacity, the Hunger Project began as a collaborative effort between community organizations and Syracuse University to map the changing geographies of hunger and poverty in the city together with the various hunger resources in Syracuse acting to

combat hunger in the city (Mitchell & Johnson 2004). Started in the fall of 2003, the Hunger Project worked to build bridges between the community and the university, designed as a space for collaborative action and the kind of research where questions are framed to directly meet the needs of community members and research participants. It was a way to bring together people working towards the same goals – to combat hunger and poverty – in a context where there was little coordination or collaboration between agencies. While the Hunger Project did not directly engage with food justice organizing at the time, it put community gardens and urban farms on the map, exposing the lack of linkages between communities and neighborhoods working toward hunger and poverty solutions on a local level. As a direct result of the Hunger Project, Syracuse Grows was established as a platform to create networks between food justice activists and with other resources that contribute to their goals of food justice in Syracuse (see syracusegrows.org for more information). Together with community members and university personnel, and using as inspiration other food justice organizations such as "The People's Grocery" in Oakland, CA, Syracuse Grows is a consortium of fourteen community gardens within the city of Syracuse, most of which have been established in highly underprivileged and minoritized neighborhoods. Food justice is an explicit goal of the organization, which they work towards through community gardening and urban farming (see syracusegrows.org for more information).

The question of race remains largely unearthed within the organization – the board is made up of (educated white) university personnel with the exception of one woman (of color) from the community; however, there is an expressed desire to increase diversity on the board, and to ensure democratic processes whereby the voices and desires of participants are heard and respected. The potential for the university to marshal resources and fight for increased visibility and resources for community gardening is huge. Community members' capacity to acquire resources necessary to function and to influence municipal planning processes can be limited by their lack of knowledge and experience in that domain (Wekerle 2004). However, the ability to draw upon resources within the city – the universities and different city or community agencies – can be extremely useful in both the growth of the organization, and in fostering connections and collaborations between community organizations and city planners. The Syracuse University law clinic has helped the organization with grant

applications and their requests for use of vacant land in the city, and links between Syracuse Grows and Cornell Cooperative Extension of Onondaga County provide access to gardening workshops and general technical support to urban gardeners. Annual meetings, resources drives, regular educational events and workshops, and personal relationships formed across and within communities and institutions have helped to increase the presence and accountability of this organization to where members have been able to participate in plans for further food sustainability and food systems planning on a city-wide level.

While focus in Syracuse on community gardening and community-municipal collaboration seems to be growing, perhaps as a result of university involvement and support, it is unclear how dedicated the city is to equitable and collaborative partnerships with community members that give the latter an equal voice in planning decisions around the food system. The Newell Street garden was the first community garden in Syracuse, established in a predominantly Black neighborhood in the South Side of Syracuse; it received little to no attention by funders or municipal bodies until the formation of Syracuse Grows in 2004, indicative of the racialized nature of where and how money is allocated and the value placed on the University as a mediating institution over community based and alternatively structured organizations.

In the Northeast side of Syracuse, where the Black and foreign-born population has increased substantially in recent years, an increase in East and Central African immigrant and refugee communities has shifted the demand for types of produce available (Eisenstadt 2013). The Karibu[13] Community Garden, established in 2010, is a resource for farmers from Central and East Africa, notably from Burundi and the DR Congo, enabling them access to and participation in culturally appropriate foodways by growing plants such as lenga-lenga, a leafy green staple in the Congolese diet (syracusegrows.org 2013). Over 7,000 refugees have resettled in Syracuse over the past decade, many of them from the Horn of Africa, and Eastern or Central African countries (Eisenstadt 2013). While large-scale grocery stores do not always respond to the individual needs for varied and diverse foods,

[13] Karibu means 'welcome' in Kiswahili, the dominant language in the Eastern Congo and much of the Great Lakes Region of Africa.

community-oriented responses such as the Karibu Community Garden not only provide for the demands of a culturally diverse community, but give visibility to those demands, which has the potential to influence provisioning decisions of larger commercial markets. A community response like the Karibu Community Garden, although small in scope, is a form a cultural resilience that builds solidarity within the community it serves (Stamps & Stamps 2008; Hurt 2012).

Cooperation between and among the various gardening communities, sharing of resources and knowledge, and collaborative work to grow the presence and political stance of the organization in the city have contributed greatly to the relationship between Syracuse Grows and the municipality of Syracuse. Members of the urban gardens have been integral to the heightened collaboration between municipal sustainability offices and community food activists, and have helped to co-author a Food Systems chapter in the city's Sustainability Plan (Miner 2012: 42). This chapter relied on the collaboration of the SU geography department for maps of the city's food resources, and focused heavily on the role of urban gardening within the city as a part of a more sustainable local and regional food system. Syracuse Grows and members of the organization were featured in both text and images throughout the chapter. The Sustainability Plan of Syracuse highlights the importance of restoring local food system vibrancy through integrated regional food production, processing, distribution, and marketing, increasing urban agriculture in Syracuse, decreasing food waste, and increasing walking access to healthy foods for the city's population (Miner 2012: 42-52). The report emphasizes the importance of community-based food system planning, and collaborative work between the various justice-based alternative food movements. Syracuse is not alone in viewing community gardening as contributing to the long-term land-use and sustainability goals of a city, and collaborative work between organizations as beneficial to the overall planning goals of a city. In cities such as Seattle, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C., specific language in comprehensive plans includes urban gardens as integral to the landscape of the city (Wekerle 2004: 383). Through collaborative work between the Toronto Food Policy Council (TFPC) and the planning commission of the city, language of the city's Official Plan was amended to include a future of "adequate amounts of safe, nutritious, culturally acceptable food…available to all" (Wekerle 2004: 384). Although the planning commission was initially quite reticent to collaborate with the TFPC, after a series of academic presentations that

showed how the goals of each group were commensurable and actually mutually reinforcing, the Official Plan was rewritten to incorporate goals of both community food justice organizations and the planning commission.

In addition to community partnerships and increased reliance on regional and urban production within the local food system, the Syracuse Sustainability Plan calls for the creation of a Food System Council in Syracuse rooted in partnership between community organizations and municipal bodies, ensuring that "the council has a mechanism for community input" (Miner 2012: 46). Over two decades ago in 1984, a Food Policy Council was formed in Onondaga County, which ceased to exist after only a few years in existence because of a lack of funding, no dedicated staff positions, and the difficulties of working together with the municipal government and broader county-wide governing structures (see Dahlberg 1993, for a description of the Onondaga County Food Policy Council). While the Council was in existence, its degree of involvement in urban food issues was consistently in tension with the county's agricultural community, and achievements within the city of Syracuse and the broader county were limited in scope. The Alliance of Communities Transforming Syracuse (ACTS), a justice-centered organization, is working towards the creation of the new proposed Food System Council that would address issues of inequity and race in the local food system. Mable Wilson, the founding member of the Newell Street community garden, a member of the South Side community who also sits on the board of Syracuse Grows, is part of the "Food Access" task force of ACTS, which has partnered with the city government for the formation of this new council. While the Food System Council has yet to come into fruition, the goals of the Sustainability Plan and of ACTS include community participation and the establishment of solid avenues of communication between the community, the city government, and "representatives across various sectors of the food system" (Miner 2012: 46).

Syracuse Grows, in their choice to focus explicitly on urban food production, has not been involved in other aspects of food justice organizing such as grocery store citing or increased demands for geographical equity in the distribution of services and investment across the city. A dedicated focus on urban agriculture can be attributed to small organizational capacity; however, there increased collaboration between and among organizations has the potential to create more space for political

participation of minoritized communities, and institutional change in how cities both plan for and fund food system infrastructure within and for spatially underprivileged communities. Patterns of grocery store establishment in Syracuse and the funding mechanisms behind food justice organizations in so-called food deserts and low-income communities of color continue to display signs of neoliberal capital flows, prioritizing capital growth rather than equitable distribution of food, land, and other resources within the city.

Community involvement and activism related to the geography of food retail in Syracuse – the opening up of new stores where there are none, the closure of stores where they are needed, and negotiations around the character of food retail establishments – provides insight into the potential for community organizing to become a part of a city's planning efforts, but also demonstrate limits to shifts in the planning paradigm. Deeply entrenched neoliberal ideologies have narrowed the scope of what people believe to be politically possible and have changed what is expected of the state apparatus, both in actual provision of services and in the popular conception of where the responsibilities of the state lie. Neoliberal subjectivities have made the idea of a 'welfare state' less and less palatable to the general population, while the institutionalization of privatized services has shifted responsibility from the state for the provisioning of social and public services.

Neoliberalization and the ideologies that undergird neoliberal restructuring has also drastically changed the ways that grant makers view potential grantees, which can spillover into the structure and functioning of funded projects. The neoliberal political framework and financialization of agricultural production and urban renewal has introduced a "cult of entrepreneurialism" that can undermine the attempts of food justice organizations at shifting the organizing mechanism around food production, consumption, and distribution. In Syracuse, the Gifford Foundation offers grants that "allow organizations to become more efficient", and that "diversify revenue streams" while also emphasizing projects that "align with community needs" or "provide opportunities for organizations to build on community plans or aspirations" (Gifford Foundation 2013). They have awarded grants to several food-related organizations in Syracuse including the Food Bank of Central New York, and the Southside Community Coalition for the construction of the South Side Food Cooperative (Bouscaren

2012). Their entrepreneurial focus is to encourage self-sufficiency after a set period of time, which necessarily changes the objectives and design of a project. By accepting grants attached to ideological frameworks around the future financial structure of an organization, many community-based alternative food movements have had to extend beyond a low-income constituency to a wealthier consumer base in the hopes of increasing profitability and the potential for financial self-sufficiency. It is important to note that reliance on outside funding for food establishments – both emergency and retail – is something that is particular to low-income communities, and especially to communities of color. While it is often difficult for cooperatively funded grocery stores to survive without outside funding, most food co-ops are part of the middle class alternative food movement, located in wealthier neighborhoods where they are not the only supply of fresh, healthy foods. When the priorities of food justice activists must change to meet the demands of a grant maker, or a municipal or university institution, they risk becoming complacent to their own radical demands for equality.

In an era of entrenched neoliberal governance structures, factors contributing to grocery store citing practices align with capitalist commercial development patterns, while geographical shifts in retail and commerce have lured food retail outlets out of the rust belt and into peripheral and suburban areas. In general, decisions about location and the character of grocery stores and retail markets, farmer's markets and locally run retail establishments, as well as urban and peri-urban gardens are often made by a more affluent and largely white population, without adequately considering the implications for communities of color and the urban poor. As I outline in the previous sections, the power of neighborhood redlining to effect commercial development has had drastic effects on food system development. Grocery store redlining (Eisenhauer 2006) has left a legacy of what Hank Herrera refers to as food apartheid, or extreme geographic inequalities in food availability and affordability. Food apartheid rightly captures the structural nature of these exclusionary processes, and the lack of political will to reverse the inequities – geographical and otherwise – of food retail establishments. Syracuse has not been immune to the loss of grocery stores in the postindustrial period; Lane et al. (2006) characterize the uneven and racialized geography of food retail markets as structural violence, outlining the health implications especially for newborn babies. Community organizing has not ignored these inequities, and has been extremely vocal about the changes they want to see in their

communities. Community food organizations, although operating in neoliberal context, have challenged governance structures in ways specific not only to the development of a different kind of food system, but in their creation of spaces for more collaborative planning which is neither neoliberal in nature, nor harking back to the era of Keynesian economics.

Working towards an alternative planning paradigm has not been a seamless or easy process in Syracuse. The construction of the Midland Sewage Pipeline, a project begun in 1998 and completed in 2008, caused the eviction of several families in the Southside, and is part of what Ducre (2012) characterizes as the continual displacement and fracturing of the Black community in Syracuse. The largest pipeline was planned for a neighborhood that is almost two-thirds Black, while the less obstructive parts of the project were built in wealthier more predominantly white neighborhoods with minimal environmental and structural effects on the neighborhood, and no associated displacement (Ducre 2012: 135). Despite community organizing and protests in the Southside, and their attempts at changing the nature and scope of the project, the pipeline was constructed, evicting several dozen families and bringing noises and smells into the neighborhood. As a result of negotiations between the city, Onondaga County, and neighborhood residents in the South Side, several million dollars were distributed to different community initiative groups in affected areas (NSRA 2011). The Midland-Lincoln-Bellevue Project (MLBP), received $3 million as a part of the settlement in reparations for the evictions, smells, and noise that resulted from the construction of the sewage treatment plant (NSRA 2011; Griffin-Nolan 2013; Murphy 2009). The Neighborhood Supermarket Initiative, a working group of the MLBP, together with community housing project Jubilee Homes, had hoped to help fund a locally run grocery store in the South Side, where the P&C grocery shut down early in 2009, and allocated part of the money to purchase a building for the proposed store (Murphy 2009). After several years of planning, and with the buy-in of the neighborhood and several members of the local municipal government, the Jubilee Supermarket lost in a bid for state funding through the Regional Economic Development Council (REDC) (Hand 2011). One of the board members of the proposed Southside Co-op, Howie Hawkins, cited the general lack of grocery stores in the South Side, insinuating that the Co-op would work toward filling that gap. "Up here on the corner of Brighton there was a grocery", he said. Referring to the P&C grocery in Valley Plaza in the South Side, he

emphasized, "The last one left in 2009" (quoted in Bouscaren 2012). Walter Dixie, the director of Jubilee Homes, saw a racialized aspect to the decision of the Development Council and the general lack of grocery stores in the neighborhood, saying, "when it comes to Black and brown folk, I need to say it in this way, and if we don't do it, who's going to come into our neighborhood and do it for us?" (quoted in Hand 2011).

While the grocery store proposed by Jubilee Homes did not receive funding from the REDC, a Tops grocery store was funded to open in the same plaza where the P&C had closed, a site targeted for over half a million dollars in tax breaks as well as monetary incentives from several other sources (Hand 2011). Syracuse's Mayor, Stephanie Miner, had been working with the company that owned Valley Plaza, the long-vacant property, to ensure tax incentives and restructuring as a side-benefit to opening a grocery store in this area. Additionally, Syracuse's Industrial Development Agency ensured a $275 thousand grant to Tops, which also received subsidy money as a 'healthy eating' establishment (Hand 2011). While the end goal of building a supermarket in the South Side of Syracuse was eventually met, it was done in such a way that excluded community voices and collaboration. Tops grocery store estimated their business would provide 82 new jobs (Hand 2011), although community members claim that the new grocery store has not employed local people, but rather brought in employees from outside areas. Furthermore, anecdotal evidence from a community-based investigation suggests that food products at the Tops in Valley Plaza cost more than at other Tops locations in Syracuse and the surrounding areas. While claiming to act in the best interest of a geographically and politically marginalized community of color, municipal and city intervention to bring a grocery store into a space where there was none represents the disjunction between municipal-corporate action and the needs and desires of marginalized residents. Corporate tax benefits and municipal-corporate collaboration, in this example, have taken precedence over the stated desires of members of the community. Block et al. suggest that practices such as these do "not address core poverty and disinvestment issues in these communities" (2012: 204). Furthermore, this story highlights the rupture between participatory and collaborative planning practices, and a more normative and market-based approach to the development of an urban food system.

While Jubilee Homes continued their efforts to open a community grocery store in the South Side as a part of the Neighborhood Supermarket Initiative over the years, they were ultimately unsuccessful in opening a co-op in the space originally purchased for a food retail market. A cooperative grocery store did finally open its doors on South Salina Street on October 15, 2013, however, as a joint effort of the Southside Community Coalition and Syracuse University's South Side Initiative. The cooperative is not directly associated with the original Neighborhood Supermarket Initiative lead by Walt Dixie of Jubilee homes, but secured funding from a variety of University and municipal or regional sources, as well as a few private donors (Rodoski 2012, 2013). The cooperative will be run by resident member-owners, under the leadership of an elected board of directors.

In the same general neighborhood, Jubilee Homes continues to run a local farm stand selling produce from the Southwest Community Farm, using some money from the settlement awarded after the Midland Sewage Pipeline project was completed. The Southwest Community Farm is the only urban farm in Syracuse, among fourteen other urban gardens associated with Syracuse Grows. The majority of these are located in extremely low-income neighborhoods in Syracuse, where a majority Black and immigrant population use gardening not only as a tool for increased health and food security, but as a means of place-making and political action. The Southwest Community Farm, at the corner of Midland and Bellevue Avenues, now grows in the location of a former corner store, The A Shack Market, which shut down after years of concerted community action (Griffin-Nolan 2009). After twenty years as a site of drug dealing, food stamp fraud, and money laundering, The A Shack Market was closed in 2006 and the building razed in 2008. This development is a physical and discursive representation of community members' success to shape the character of the neighborhood as a whole, and the local food system contained within it, and to work toward positive development in a blighted area. Urban agriculture has the potential not only to provide fresh and culturally desirable foods, but is also a way to reuse, repurpose and rehabilitate vacant lots and land in urban areas (Meenar et al. 2012). Four other community gardens, including an educational garden, sit within a ten-block radius of the Southwest Community Farm in the South Side.

Like the now-defunct Onondaga County Food Policy Council, the successes of food justice activists in Syracuse have been limited in scope and consistently met with a series of setbacks. However, there is reason to believe that the normative urban planning paradigm is beginning to shift in the direction of community participation and justice-oriented planning. Food justice in Syracuse continues to operate in the context of neoliberalization and capital restructuring, and competes with the financial and corporate interests of the municipality. Notwithstanding, there is the potential for community organizing to shoulder some of the responsibilities previously fulfilled by the state without resorting to individualizing tactics that deprecate and blame poor people for their situation, and all while putting pressure on the state to listen to and involve communities in planning processes. Much of the food justice activity in Syracuse – and in urban areas across the county – is concentrated in majority Black communities and driven by the communities who are have the most to benefit from structural changes to the planning paradigm. Concerns that this work will concentrate solely on food access (Block et al. 2012), and not begin to challenge the root causes of food system inequities, seem unlikely to become a reality.

Conclusion: The nuance of success and failure

Food systems planning in Syracuse has a long way to go before food justice activism has adequate sway in decision making processes; community groups are still fighting for underserved communities to have equitable access and sufficient voice in planning processes, and routinely encounter barriers to collaborative planning methods. Networking between community organizations and city planning and development offices offers the potential for new projects and growth in areas that are often ignored, marginalized, or seen as "fully deformed" or "beyond hope" (Wilson 2007); however, many projects are operating in isolation of other organizations without seeking out direct collaboration between and among organizations. Evidence that Syracuse as a whole is experiencing a nascent "rooting of…food citizenship" (Wekerle 2004), is present in an emerging municipal willingness to work toward democratic processes of food provisioning and city planning. The burgeoning of "food citizenship" within a community represents the beginning of an epistemological shift emphasizing "the need to move beyond food as a commodity and people as consumers" (Lang 1998: 237 quoted in Renting

2012: 294). Wekerle (2004) asserts that a food justice frame is not just a discursive shift, but represents a new lens through which to frame and structure urban planning processes.

Drastic demographic and financial changes have affected the postindustrial urban landscape in knowable – albeit extremely uneven – ways through loss of population and investment as well as uneven political attention to growth. However, these shifts in urbanizing processes have preceded a fully formed political or theoretical framework through which to conceptualize new ways in which cities are organizing themselves, both spatially and politically. Thus, the nuances of an emerging paradigm shift are not readily available for theorizing; nor is it entirely clear whether and how these shifts will materialize and evolve. Capitalist neoliberal politics remain hegemonic in most of the urban rust belt, and restructuring and revitalization projects are testament to the ways that neoliberalism reinforces the geographic, racial, and socioeconomic divide in cities. However, in instances where the state or the municipality acts to support communities in their own empowerment and self-sufficiency – especially regarding social reproduction around food, governance structures are also contributing to community resilience and helping to bolster an alternative structure of social support; one that attends to biophysical needs but also prioritizes socio-cultural desires.

Tensions between normative modes of planning and the push for a new, racially just and geographically inclusive planning paradigm continue to work toward an epistemic shift, to make space for a better understanding of urbanization in the new postindustrial rust belt city. Theories of change that rely on a market shift in demand due to increased supply of alternatively sourced or produced food do not effectively change the functioning of the food system as it exists within the built environment, and create little friction with traditional urban planning processes (Allen & Guthman 2006; Renting 2012). Many alternative food movements represent spaces of whiteness, and are established within geographies of abundant food options: spaces of relative ease of food access and food system participation. Neoliberalization within the rust belt has created an urban class of contingent laborers working within the new service sector, of whom a disproportionate number are low-income people of color. A lack of job security, bargaining power, and benefits that were associated with industrial sector labor, and a history of wage repression and economic disciplining characterize

the new urban laborer. This socio-economic and highly racialized disciplining reinforces historical-geographical trends of creating and maintaining effective means of spatial isolation for the poorest urban dwellers, mapping racial segregation and socio-economic segregation onto a racialized segregation from full participation in both market-based food alternatives and political decision-making processes.

The food justice movement has begun to implicitly challenge many of the assumptions embedded in the current urban planning paradigm by demonstrating the power of community based initiatives to change the food landscape in a community, increase quality of life for residents, and improve pathways of communication and collaboration between alternative and official planning efforts. Blockages to collaboration are being subverted through activism that renders food system decision-making visible, while creating a political arena of municipal and community responsibility. The A Shack Market in Syracuse, shut down as a direct result of community effort, is located in a part of the city where corner markets and convenience stores predominate. Another corner store has proposed to open on a corner down the block, threatening to once bring further violence, drugs, and illegal activity to the block, and providing a retail outlet for alcohol, tobacco, and lottery tickets rather than fresh, healthy, and affordable foods. Syracuse United Neighbors, a community organization based in the South Side, has organized protests against this new corner store, claiming that neighborhood members were not consulted about the opening of yet another "criminal corner store" (Sunaction 2013). They have also met with Mayor Miner in Syracuse[14], and presented her with a petition highlighting the ways in which the neighborhood has grown since the A-Shack Market on Belleview and Midland shut down. "Our neighborhood is starting to rebound with new houses, a community garden… We cannot afford to have a corner store selling nothing more than alcohol, tobacco, and lottery products…" (Sunaction 2013). Emphasis on the importance of community choice regarding food options is central to their

[14] In a recent development, several corner stores in Syracuse have been ordered to shut down due to health and building code violations. Mostly on the South Side, corner stores were targeted for code inspection with little or no notice, and six of the ten stores were given 24 hours to either meet the demands of building and safety code, or to close down (Dowty 2013). The community organization SUN has been demanding that the city deal with the 'scourge' of corner stores in the city, but critics argue that simply shutting down stores prone to attracting violence and drug-related activity does little or nothing to address systemic problems of poverty, racism in the food system, and spatial underprivilege.

petition, and community activists have made very clear where their interests lie. However, the objectives of food justice activism are often undermined by intervening interest groups – corporate businesses, municipal structure – who intend to support food security, or increased access to food, but do so through the lens of the capitalist market, with an underlying and prioritized goal of capitalist growth.

A well-known metaphor among participatory action researchers maintains that communities and community members should not be "on the table" but rather be sitting *at the table*. Regarding the decision about the construction of the Tops market in Valley Plaza, the community was simply "on the table" as a topic of discussion, but had no voice at the table, and therefore no clout in how the decision was made. The Eat-to-Live Food Co-op, has the potential to be the kind of food retail market that exists to serve the needs of the community. A member run store with a member elected board is well positioned to provide space for neighborhood residents to voice their opinions and have their needs met. It remains to be seen whether the consumer base of the food cooperative is representative of the most food insecure in the Southside of Syracuse, or if the financial commitment of becoming a member or shopping at the co-op excludes low-income people from within the community. Political and economic choices about where to spend money, who (and where) is deserving of investment, and how to deal with problems such as vacant properties, lack of green space, and crumbling infrastructures need to include the historically marginalized voices of people who are most directly affected by these choices. The outcome of the current dispute over the new proposed corner store in the South Side might well serve as an allegory for the future of collaborative decision-making processes and in determining how shifts in Syracuse's planning paradigm will materialize.

V: Conclusion: Connecting history and geography to the future of food justice

The postindustrial built environment is made up of cities in the rust belt whose capital base was largely constructed by and thrived on the labor of millions of migrants from the American South. They moved north to pursue a life outside of rural America, in the hopes of finding greater ease in providing for themselves and their families. In many cases, this life was possible – industrial labor was more lucrative than tenant farming or sharecropping on farmland, especially during and directly after the Great Depression (Baron 1971), and opportunities for upward mobility, while limited, were more available in cities than in rural areas. Black farmers and farm laborers faced especially difficult circumstances in the period following the Great Depression; constrained financial resources combined with racially discriminatory lending and aide practices provided the necessary push for many out of the rural south and into northern industrializing cities. For the low-income Black American worker, however, living in the urban United States was and is a very different experience than for white Americans and more wealthy urban dwellers.

Geographical, political, and economic segregation have isolated many low-income Blacks into ghetto neighborhoods where socio-economic mobility is much more difficult than in other areas of a city. These are also neighborhoods where food is less accessible, more expensive, and dominated by industrially processed and unhealthy foods (Lane et al. 2008; Chung & Myers 1999; Treuhaft & Karpyn 2010). Additionally, the postindustrial era has been largely defined by neoliberal reconstruction, which has placed increasing emphasis on profitability, capitalist growth, and the privatization of services. Struggling cities are being economically disciplined to encourage or even enforce increasing productivity, in order to attract continuous sources of investment and wealth. Simultaneously, poor people and poor neighborhoods, predominately inhabited by people of color, are held responsible for their own situation, and disciplined as unproductive neoliberal subjects or excessive consumers of government services. The inattention of urban planners and municipal officials has relegated food system planning to the margins, while neighborhoods of color have been neglected from equitable consideration of urban developers. In most cases, planners give little to no attention to how food enters into and circulates within cities; for impoverished and marginalized areas in the city, historically affected by the continual displacement of people and wealth through urban renewal and

industrial construction projects (Ducre 2012; McClintock 2010; Pulido 2000), participation in the food system – as consumers, producers, decision makers, or as urban citizens – is limited at best.

The intersection of race and food begins to describe how Black bodies are managed and disciplined (Wilson 2007) inhabiting more impoverished and underserved areas of the city; it describes an racialized geography of food, hunger, and poverty, created out of the invisibility of inequality and white privilege in the built environment. In the city of Syracuse, where I have concentrated my research efforts, racial segregation is quite evident in the spatial distribution of both people and hunger or food insecurity. Following larger (regional and national) geographical patterns of grocery store citing and the availability of alternative sources of food, the wealthier areas of Syracuse, inhabited predominantly by white people, have many more food option available, while neighborhoods of color are geographically isolated from both options for food and the political decision making processes surrounding commercial and real estate development.

My research focuses on the historical legacy of marginalization and neglect faced by urban Black communities and how that marginalization is reflected in and magnified by a socially unjust and structurally racist food system. Using examples of food justice activism, I explore the possibility of shifts in the urban planning paradigm toward more intentional food system planning processes rooted in community participation and collaboration. Throughout this thesis, I have aimed to dissect the discourse and politics surrounding city planning and renewal within Syracuse and the rust belt more generally, considering whether and to what extent normative planning processes perpetuate and exacerbate the racialized inequalities already present in the food system. I examine how the infiltration of neoliberal ideologies such as individualism, self-sufficiency, and market-based entrepreneurialism also influence the structures of and interactions between the multiple "alternative" food movements, and the tensions between official and alternative methods of food system organization. Finally, and most importantly, I explore how community based activism around food does or does not create spaces within the built environment – for political participation and community resilience, as well as physical spaces for urban food production.

Many alternative food practices, especially those reinforcing ideas about how and what one should eat, inadvertently reproduce a racial divide that bolsters the food narratives and desires of a largely white and wealthy subset of the population, while reinforcing alternative food practices rooted in a market ideology. Among the many and varied alternative food practices, a food justice approach centers its objectives on restructuring the production, distribution, and consumption processes within the food system. Food justice organizing attempts to transform the food system by challenging the inequities and structural racisms reproduced through it. Food and hunger are intimately determined by both social and biological factors and deeply embedded in the interrelationship of space, place, power, and identity. The mutually constitutive nature of these processes is central to the objectives of food justice activism, which addresses the dialectic of need and desire, navigating the terrain of power relations and identity formation. Food justice, however, does not exist outside of the hegemonic neoliberal political and economic environment, as evidenced by the tensions in Syracuse between the desires of corporate capitalist development, and what is best for community resilience and growth. This same tension exists within the framework of food justice itself, as it is subject to the influences of market-based ideologies and the resulting promotion of entrepreneurialism, individualism, self-sufficiency, as well as non-reliance on social services. Many of the examples I have studied of food justice organizing and attempts at community participatory collaborative planning processes explore this tension of how to both feed people and build resilience and solidarity within underserved and marginalized communities.

Through historical research on the geographical movement of people and wealth, I have tried to contextualize the story of urban food system planning within the broader framework of housing, labor, demographic, and financial development of the rust belt. Historical and theoretical research on housing and labor segregation, neoliberal restructuring and redevelopment, as well as on racialized inequalities in access to and participation in the food system showed Syracuse to be a good case study to explore my research questions further in depth. An example of a rust belt city experiencing both severe and protracted economic downturn and population loss, Syracuse has been struggling to readjust to the economic, political, and demographic changes that, over the past several decades, have changed both the character and needs of the city. My research in Syracuse was largely observational,

attending meetings and speaking with community members, university personnel, and especially community gardeners; however, I supplement my anecdotal evidence with archival work and newspaper sources. While this "case study" is far from fully developed, it exemplifies many of the theories about food systems and urban food system planning that I found in the literature.

Food justice activism in Syracuse is a burgeoning and multifocal presence, organizations such as Syracuse Grows and ACTS have placed food system planning more squarely on the map of city officials, bringing attention to the unevenness and inherent inequity of the food system landscape in Syracuse. Collaborative processes have not always been successful, and negotiations over land and retail development are ongoing. This research has opened up almost as many questions for me as it has tried to address, and I recognize that none of the questions I set out to explore have been entirely answered. It is unclear, in Syracuse, as well as in many other cities across the United States (and across the world, cf. chapter 3) whether food justice organizing will take a reformative or more radical approach to food system transformation. It is also unclear just how successful community based urban planning can be in subverting the financialization of urban space and the infiltration of neoliberal subjectivities in everyday life. The potential for a paradigm shift in planning practices needs to be put to the test in intentional and specific ways, but, as the examples in thesis show, these processes will not be without contention.

Furthermore, decisions about businesses, land use, and neighborhood growth are not frictionless; most planning decisions or neighborhood changes have simultaneous positive and negative repercussions. Neoliberal restructuring characterizes many of the growth projects in Syracuse, including the Connective Corridor, the various committees dedicated to bringing business in to downtown Syracuse, and housing initiatives to rehabilitate and rent out luxury apartments in historic districts of Syracuse. These efforts have been successful in revitalizing certain areas of the city, while the majority of the most impoverished and underserved areas remain ignored and "banned" from the public gaze. Other developments more related to food access and distribution must also be critically analyzed; their impact on the surrounding neighborhoods and the city as a whole is neither clearly positive or negative. The presence of corner stores in Syracuse has been referred to as a "scourge" (Dowty 2013)

and neighborhood groups are partnering with the city to have many of them shut down, claiming they attract drug activity and violence; however, small, independently owned grocery stores can also serve neighborhoods and communities with fresh and healthy food, provide employment, and create an environment favorable for community activities. While the difference between a traditional, negatively characterized corner store and an independent grocer might be nuanced, it is important to note that both have the potential for positive and/or negative impacts. Large-scale grocery stores are often thought to fix many of the problems of an underserved neighborhood, providing food, employment, and opening up the potential for further business activity. The Tops grocery store that opened on South Salina Street in Syracuse, however, was made possible through tax subsidies and government sponsorship, essentially taking the place of the community owned and operated grocery store that Jubilee Homes had been planning, and only effectively serves the parts of the neighborhood closest to Valley Plaza. Prices in this store are higher than at Tops locations in other parts of the city, and the community has not necessarily benefited from increased employment. On the other hand, food access has increased dramatically for inhabitants of parts of the Southside of Syracuse. The Eat-to-Live Food Cooperative is too new to determine just how effective it will be at attracting the most vulnerable members of the Southside community. However, the democratic structure of the organization places responsibility and ownership over the store in the hands of resident members and their elected board, which is a reshuffling of power relations from a traditional commercial operation.

These grey areas must be held in tension and analyzed critically, while also considering that fighting for food access and availability is not enough in moving toward food justice: (Block et al. 2010). Histories of geographical inequality, from housing segregation to labor discrimination through neoliberal restructuring and the further marginalization of Black people and communities, will not be reversed through simple access to food. Municipalities concerned with city growth in the context of competitive globalization and under the threat of continued economic downturn are unlikely to invest equitably in places – neighborhoods or communities – that are portrayed as failing or already failed. However, a push toward justice and equality that is sufficiently aligned with the interests of the state has the potential to create the conditions necessary for collaboration between neighborhoods and

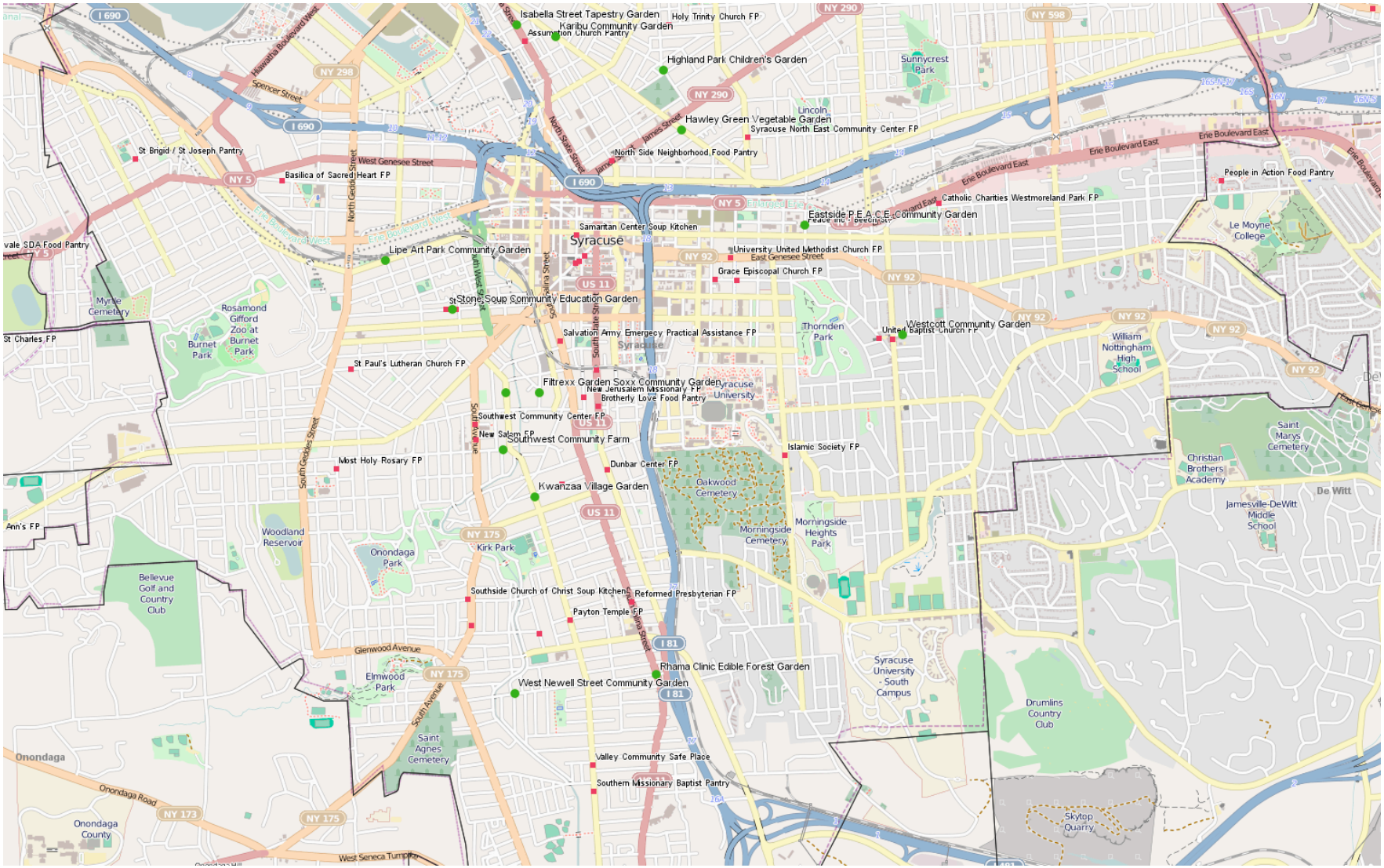
communities fighting for food justice, and a city that does not prioritize investing in impoverished neighborhoods of color.

Neoliberal governance structures have catalyzed a dramatic shift in the perception of the role of the state to intervene, providing public services to supplement the lack of necessary resources for growth. However, neoliberalization and welfare reform have not established a sustainable solution for millions of underserved and impoverished people, who continue to rely on the limited provisions of a shrunken state and the non-profit charity sector for survival. Poverty in New York State has not decreased since welfare reform of the mid-1990s, and inequality rates are higher than in any other American state (Glick 2006). While governance structures are continually shifting and evolving, the reduction of public sector services together with shifting ideologies around responsibility and self-sufficiency that have occurred over the past several decades of neoliberalization make it unlikely that the state will move toward a Keynesian economic philosophy, or that government social services will expand to make up for the "underemployment, unemployment, poverty-level wages, and inadequate pensions" created by a capitalist system (Allen 1999: 126).

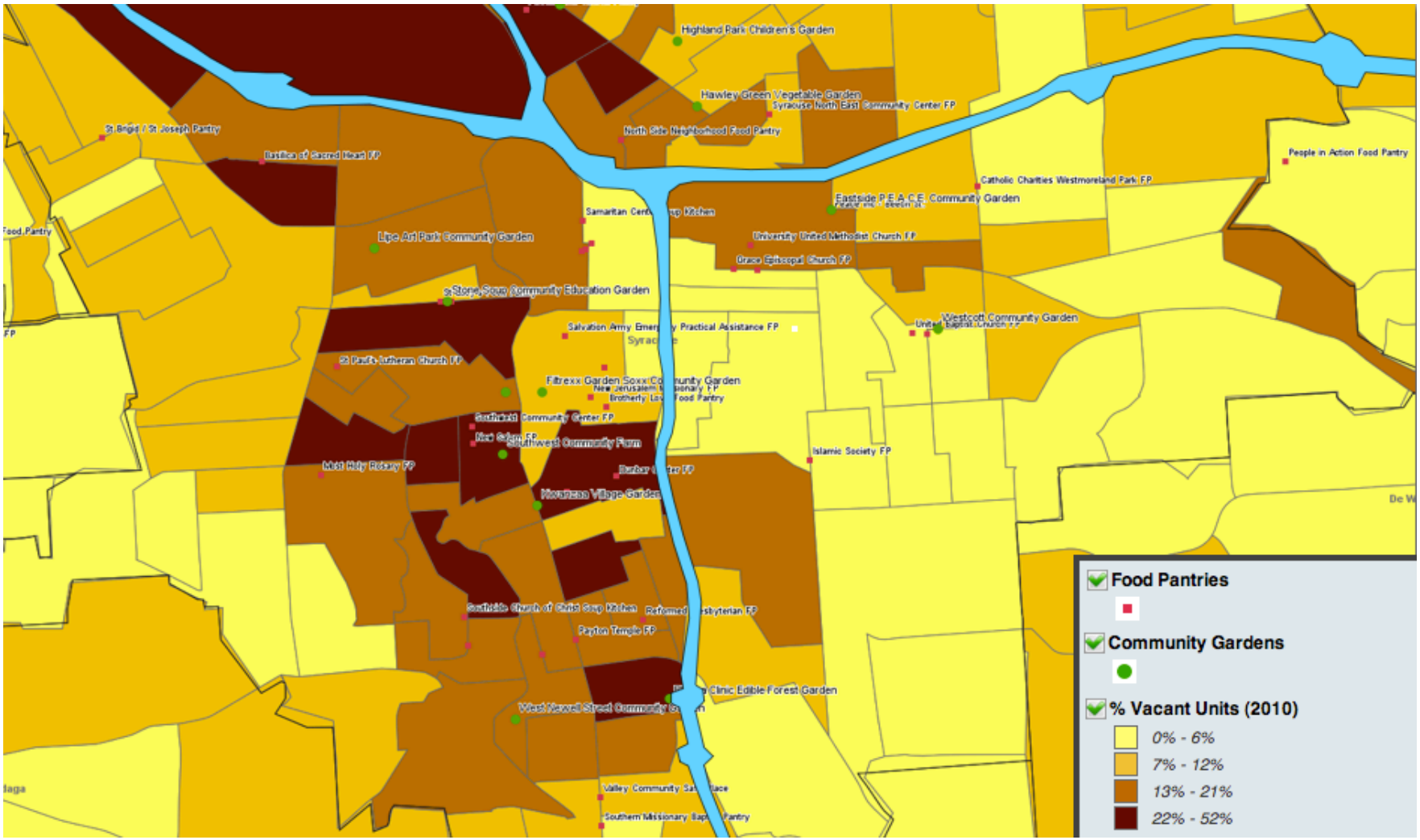
People often look to the past to imagine what the future could be; however, it is also useful to examine current patterns of change to imagine the different ways in which urban food system planning might evolve. The planning paradigm could shift in such a way that it continues to relegate food system planning to the uneven growth of the capitalist system; however, we have seen how food justice organizing influences that system, allowing space for community solidarity and resilience within a system that privileges individualism and self sufficiency.

Alternative methods of city planning have the potential to reimagine the rust belt, recreating cities in such a way that they do not look back to their industrial past or economic apex with the hopes of recreating it. Rather, by creating the space for inclusive planning processes, marginalized communities can have a voice and sway over the evolution of the food landscape in their neighborhoods, and are empowered to work toward a vision of food justice that conceptualizes food as a right, rather than a privilege

VI. Appendix

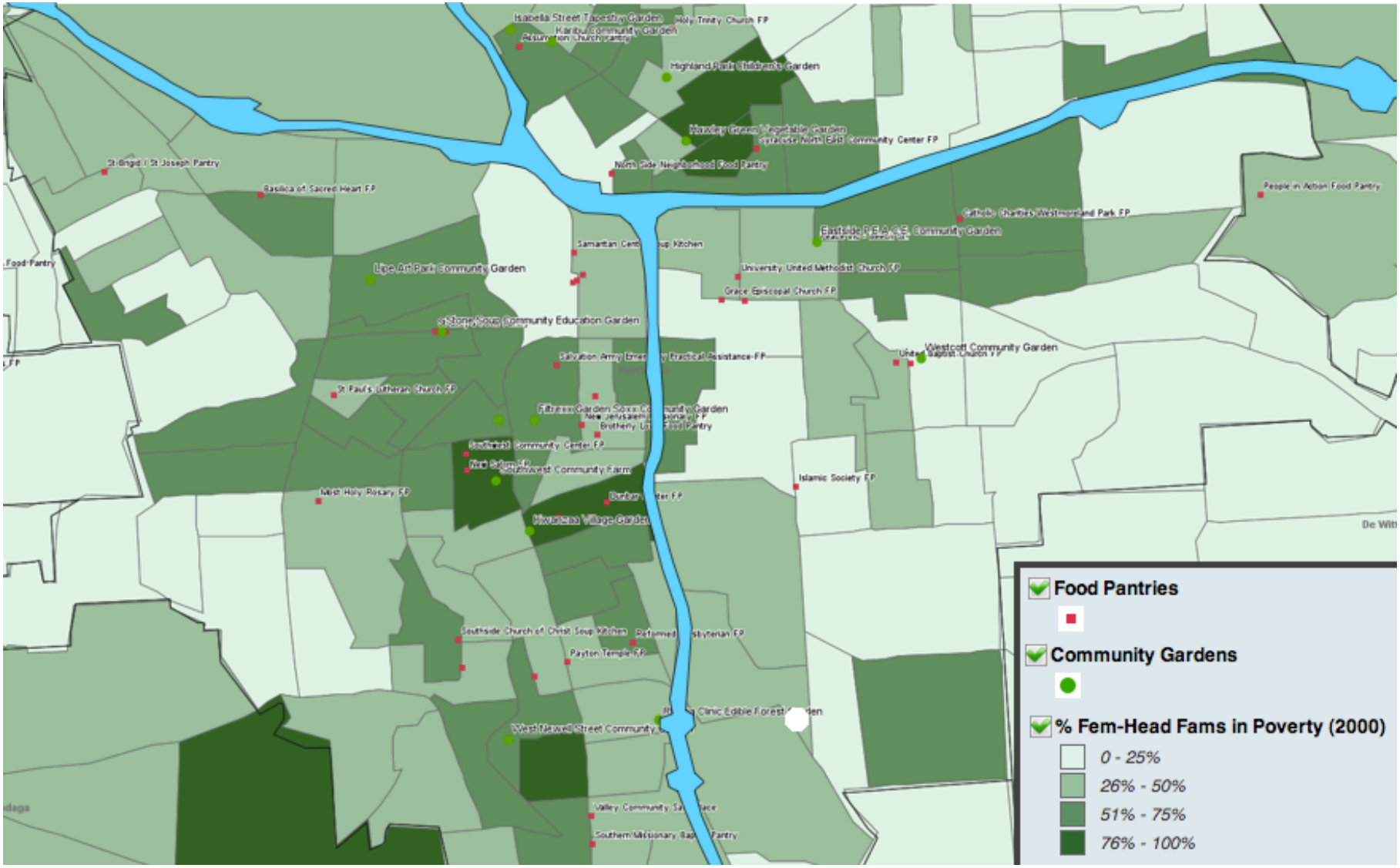


Appendix I: City map of Syracuse. The city outline is designated by the black lines; the green circles represent community gardens, the red squares represent food pantries.

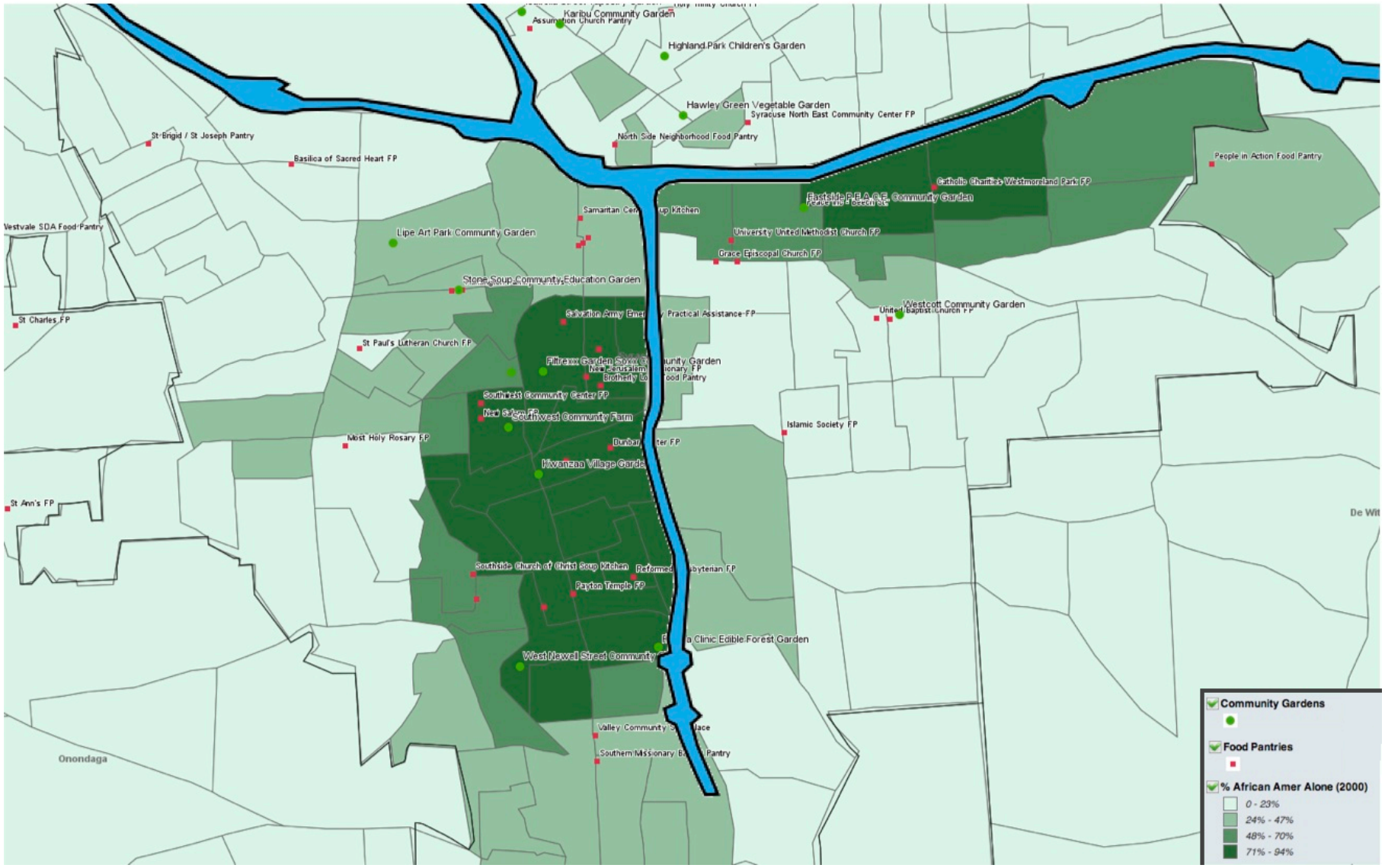


Appendix II: Proportion of vacant properties by neighborhood, with an overlay of Interstate 81 (north/south) and Highway 690 (east/west) in blue; also shown are community gardens (green circles) and food pantries (red squares). As noted in Chapter 3, Syracuse has more vacant lots than other locations in New York State.

Appendix III: Proportion of individual incomes less than $10k per year (2000), with an overlay of Interstate 81 (north/south) and Highway 690 (east/west) in blue; also shown are community gardens (green circles) and food pantries (red squares). Note that the average household income in Syracuse is about $30,000 per year, with just over 16% of households subsisting on less than $10,000 per year. In 2009, median household income for households identifying as white was $36,110; for households identifying as Black the median was $21,588 (City Data 2013).



Appendix IV: Female head of families in poverty, mapped based on data collected in 2000; this map includes an overlay of Interstate 81 (north/south) and Highway 690 (east/west) in blue; also shown are community gardens (green circles) and food pantries (red squares).



Appendix V: Black population in Syracuse, based on data collected in 2000; this map includes an overlay of Interstate 81 (north/south) and Highway 690 (east/west) in blue; also shown are community gardens (green circles) and food pantries (red squares).

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